

EUROPE SPECULUM,
OR A
VIEW or SURVEY
OF THE
State of Religion
IN THE

Western Parts of the World,
WHEREIN
The Roman Religion, and the
Pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome
to support the same, are notably display-
ed; with some other memorable Discoveries
and Commemorations.

By Sir Edwin Sandys, Knight.

Multum cinque desideratum.

LONDON,

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SURVEY

OF THE

STATE OF RELIGION

IN THE

Western parts of the World.

To the most Reverend Father in Christ,
JOHN WHITEGIFT Arch-Bishop of
CANTERBURY.

The Preface containing the Scope of all.



Y singular good Lord. Having finish-
ed now almost my intended course
of Travel; and drawing withal
towards the expiration of the time
presumed thereto: coming to cast
up as it were the short accounts of my labours,
employed chiefly (as was from the first my prin-
cipal design) in viewing the STATE of
RELIGION in these Western parts of
the World, and the divided Factions and Pro-
fessions thereof; with their differences in matter

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of Faith, in the Exercises of Religion, in Government Ecclesiastical, and in Life and Conversation: what vertues in each kind eminent, what eminent defects, moreover in what Terms of opposition or correspondence each stands; with other, what probabilities, what policies, what hopes, what jealousies, are found in each part for the advancing thereof; and finally, what possibility and good means of uniting at leastwise the several branches of the Reformed Professours: if unity Universal be more to be desired than hoped, in such bitterness of minds, and equality of forces, as leaveth on either side either disposition to yield; or doubt to be vanquished. In the midst of these thoughts the great place which your Grace holdeth in our Church and Common-wealth next under her Majesty, did advise me in duty, as great worthiness joyned with favour towards my self in particular did press me, in humble and serviceable affection to yield unto your Grace some account of those my Travels in that kind; not intending to deliver a full report of all those points, which would too much exceed the proportion of this Letter to write, and perhaps of your Graces leisure also to read; but restraining my self chiefly to such parts and places, as may seem most necessary for our Country to be known, and give your Grace also in likelyhood most content in recognizing them.

Of the Roman Religion.

THE Roman Religion, which of all other Christian, I suppose to have most manifestly declined and degenerated from the truth and purity of that Divine Original once so well published and placed amongst them; as having in those middle times when there were none to controul them, light into the hands and handling of such men as made their greatness, wealth and honour, the very rules whereby to square out the Canons of Faith, and then set Clerks on work to devise arguments to uphold them, seem not withstanding at this day not so corrupt in the very Doctrine, as in Schooles they deliver it, and publish it in their writings; where many bold opposition doth hold them in awe, and hath caused them to refine it; as it is in the practice thereof, and in their usage amongst themselves; wherein they are as gross in a manner as ever: so that sundry whom the reading of their books hath allured, the view of their Churches hath averted from their party.

Of the superstitions and ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

For to omit the endless multitude of superstitions and ceremonies enough to take up a great part of a mans life to gaze on and to

peruse; being neither uniform in all places, as some would pretend, but different in divers Countries: an huge sort of them are so childish also and unsavoury, that as they argue great silliness and rawness in their inventors, so can they naturally bring no other than disgrace and contempt to those exercises of Religion wherein they are stirring.

Of their Honour to Saints and Angels.

And to restrain my self in this part especially to Italy, where the Roman Religion doth principally flourish; the communicating Divine Honour to Saints and Angels, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending prayers, addressing vows unto them; by worshipping their Images; going in Pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of miracles both to the one and other; hath wrought this general effect in those parts, that men have more affiance and asseme unto them a greater concept of comfort in the patronage of the Creatures and servants of God, than of God himself; the Prince and Creatour. And touching the blessed Virgin, the case is clear, that howsoever their Doctrine in Schooles be otherwise, yet in all kind of outward actions, the Honour which they do her is double for the most part unto that which they do our Saviour: where one doth profess himself a Devote or peculiar servant of our Lord

State of Religion, &c.

whole towns sometimes, as *Siena* by name, are the *Devoti* of our Lady.

The stateliest Churches are hers lightly, and in Churches hers the fairest Altars; where one prayeth before the Crucifix, two before her Image, where one voweth to Christ, ten vow unto her: and not so much, to her self, as to some peculiar Image, which for some select vertue or grace together with greater power of operation of miracles they chiefly serve, as the glorious *Lady of Loretto*, the devout *Lady of Rome*, the miraculous *Lady of Provenzano*, the *Annunciata* of *Florence*; whose Churches are so stuffed with vowed presents and memories, that they are faine to hang their Cloysters also and Churchyards with them. Then as their vows are, such are their Pilgrimages. And to nourish this humour, for one miracle reported to be wrought by the Crucifix, not so few perhaps as an hundred are voiced upon those other Images. Yea their devils in exorcism are also taught (for who can think otherwise?) to endure the conjuring on them by the name of God and the Trinity without trouble or motion; but at the naming of our Lady to toss and torment; as feeling now a new force of an unresistable power. Neither will I omit this no less certain, though less apparent; where one fasts on Friday, which they count our Lords day in devotion to him; many fast the Saturday: which there they count our Ladies day; and in devotion to her. In all which

the people do but follow their guides, who as in the admeasuring of devotions by tale on beads, they string up ten salutations of our Lady to one of our Lords prayers, so themselves also in their Sermons make their entrance with an *Ave Mary*: yea and the solempnest divine honour which I see in those parts, and which being well used were to be highly renowned and recommended to the imitation of all worthy Christians; namely, that thrice a day, at sun rise, at noon, and sun set, upon the ringing of a bell, all men in what place soever they be, whether, Field, Street, or Market, kneel down and send up their united devotion to the high Court of the world. This honour is by them intended chiefly to our Lady, and the devotion advised is the *Ave Mary*, and the Bell which rings to it hath also that name. And lastly their chief Preachers do teach in Pulpit, that the Church doth very well, what soever is found in Scripture spoken of Christ the Son of God; to apply it to our Lady also, being the daughter of God: that it is the opinion of a learned man and not contrary to the Catholick Faith, that though *Adam* had not sinned, yet Christ should have been incarnate to do our Lady honour; that all the Angels and Saints of Heaven are vassals unto them both, and cast down their Crowns at the feet of both, and present mens supplications kneeling unto both; that our bond of duty and thankfulness must needs be extended to her; seeing it may be said

ter a sort, that Man is more advanced in her than in Christ himself, seeing in Christ the nature of Man is exalted only, in our Lady, the very person also, which Christ hath put: Finally, that nothing passeth in Heaven without her express consent, that the stile of that Court is *Rhetor Domina*: yea they are taught that matters of Justice come more properly from him, and expeditious of Grace from her, and that some rare holy men have seen in vision, that certain whom Christ would have condemned: yet in regard they were her servants, by her intercession have been absolved: so that no man need marvel if this doctrine and practise have diverted the principal streames of affiance and love, from him, who had the only right unto them; and turned them upon those, unto whom neither so great honour is due, nor so undue honour can be accepted.

Of their Liturgies.

Their *Liturgies* being not understood by the people, are not able to hold them with any spiritual content: For supply whereof, they confine them to the channing of their beads in the mean season: which being so unfavory a food as it is (and they use it accordingly) when they are weary of it, they entertain the rest of the time with talk and mirth, (which the Priests also themselves as their leisure forbears not,) not forgetting yet to shew devotion at certain pauses

by Spirits ; wherein their outward gestures are decent, reverent, significant. Howbeit I suppose in general I may truly say, that the *Roman* Catholicks are the most irreverent and wandring at Divine Service that a man shall see any where, (the *Jews* only excepted ; who are in that kind in all places incredibly intollerable:) though on the other side that honour is to be yielded in the *Italian* Nation, that he is naturally not undevout, were his devotion well guided and duely cherished, and not starved and quenched in the dark mist of a language, where he neither understandeth what is said to him, nor yet what himself saith.

Of their Sermons.

The best part of their exercises of Religion are their **Sermons**: wherein much good matter both of Faith and Piety is eloquently delivered, by men surely of wonderful zeal and Spirit, if their interiour fervour be correspondent to their outward vehemence. Howbeit they are sometime mingled with so palpable vanity, that besides other poverities, as forced allegories and unnatural interpretations, wherein they are frequent ; even those Legends of Saints and tales at which children with us would smile, are there solemnly historized in their Cathedral Pulpits. But certainly what religiousness soever is in the peoples minds, may wholly or chiefly be

attributed to their Sermons, whereto the better disposed people do very diligently resort: their Service being no other than as a Lamp put out, which bringing no light at all to the understanding, can neither bring any due warmth to the affection, the one being inseparable from the other: and were it not that their Musick, Perfumes and rich sights, did hold the outward senses, with their natural delight; surely it could not be but either abandoned for the fruitlessness, or only upon fear and constraint frequented.

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that sort and order: they spare nothing that either Cost can perform in Enriching, or Skill in Adorning the Temples of God, or to set out his Service with the greatest pomp and magnificency that can be devised, wherein notwithstanding it were to be wished that some discreeter men had been the contrivers and Masters of their Ceremonies, to have affected in them more stateliness, reverence and devotion, and to have avoyded that Fryerly base baseness and childishness which is now in them predominant. And although I am not ignorant that many men well reputed have embraced the thrifty opinion of that Disciple, who thought all to be wasted that was bestowed on Christ in that sort; and that it were much better employed upon him in the poor, yet with an eye perhaps that themselves would be his quarter Almoners: not
with-

withstanding I must confess, it could never sink into my heart, that in proportion of reason, the allowance for the furnishing out of the Service of God should be measured by the scant and strict rule of meer necessity, (a proportion so low, that nature to other most bountiful, in matters of necessity hath not failed, no not the most un noble Creatures in the world;) and that for our selves no measure of heaping, but the most we can get; no rule of expence, but to the utmost pomp we list: or that God himself had enriched this lower part of the World with such wonderful variety of things beautiful and glorious, that they might serve only to the pampering up of mortal man in his pride; and that the Service of the High Creator Lord and Giver, (the outward glory of whose higher Palace may appear by the very Lamps which we see so far off burning so gloriously in it) only the simpler, baser, cheaper, less noble, less beautiful, less glorious things should be employed: especially seeing even as in Princes Courts, so in the Service of God also, this outward state and glory being well disposed, doth engender, quicken, encrease and nourish, the inward reverence and respectful devotion which is due unto so Sovereign Majesty and power, which those whom the use thereof cannot perswade, so would easily by the want of it be forced to confess: For which cause I must crave to be excused by them herein, if in zeal of the Honour of the common

Lord of all, I choose rather to commend the virtue of an enemy, than to flatter the vice or imbecility of a friend.

Of their Penance and Confession.

But to return to the Church of Rome, and to come to the consideration of their **Penance and Confession**, out of which so great good is promised to the World, and the want whereof is so much upbraided to their opposites: I must confess, I brought with me this perswasion and expectation, that surely in reason and very course of nature, this must needs be a very great restraint to wickedness, a great means to bring men to integrity and perfection; when a man shall as it were daily survey his actions and affections, censure with grief, confess with shame, cure by counsel, expiate with punishment, extinguish with firm intent never to return to the like again, whatsoever hath defiled or stained his soul. Neither doubt I but it had this fruit in the first institution, and hath also with many at this day: yea and might have been perhaps better restored in Reformed Churches to its primitive sincerity, than utterly abolished, as in most places it is. Notwithstanding, having diligently searched into the managing thereof in those parts, I find that as all things whereof humane imbecillity hath the Custody and government, in time (decaying by unfeeling de-

grees

grees) fall away from their first perfection and purity, and gather much soil and dross in using; so this as much as any thing.

For this point of their Religion, which in outward shew carrieth a face of severity and discipline, is become of all other most remiss and pleasant, and of greatest content even to the dissolute minds, the matter being grown with the common sort to this open reckoning; What need we refrain so fearfully from sin, God having provided so ready a means to be rid of it when we list again? Yea, and the worser sort will say, when we have sinned we must confess: and when we have confessed we must sin again, that we may also confess again, and withal make work for new Indulgences and Jubilies, making account of Confession as protested drunkards of Vomiting: Yea I have known of those that carry a shew of very devout persons, who by their own report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminal, have wittingly perjured themselves in judgement; only presuming of this present and easie remedy of Confession: and other of more than ordinary note among them, who when their time of Confessing was at hand, would then venture on those actions which before they trembled at; as presuming to surfeit by reason of neighbourhood with the Physician: which Physician also himself is perhaps more often infected by the noysome diseases which his Patient discloseth, than the Patient a-

ny way bettered by the counsel which the Physician giveth; though this should be the very principal vertue of that act. But this must be granted to be the fault of the people: yea a general fault it is, and currant with small controulment.

Howbeit neither are the Priests or Pope to be more excused perhaps in their parts. The Priests will tell the penitents that God is merciful; that what sin soever a man committeth, so long as he continueth in the Church, and is not a Lutheran, there is good remedy for him. And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily, but in the ~~Maries~~ and ~~Pater Nosters~~, with some easie Almes to them that are able, and some little fasting to such as are willing; yea I have known, when the penance for horrible and often blasphemy, besides much other leudness, hath been no other than the bare saying of their Beads thrice over; a matter of some hours muttering, and which in *Italy* they dispatch also as they go in the streets, or rid business at home; making no other of it, than as it is, two lips and one fingers work. But were the penance which the Priests enjoin never so hard and sharp, the holy Fathers plenary pardon sweeps all away at a blow. Now of these they have granted (and this man especially) so huge a number, that I ween there are few Churches of note in *Italy*, which have not purchased or procured a perpetual plenary Indulgence, by vertue whereof, who

whosoever at certain set yearly days, being confessed, and having communicated, (or as in some pardons, having intent only to confess and communicate in time convenient) powres out his devotions before some Altar in that Church, and extends his hands in Almes to the behoof thereof (which clause in all former grants was expressed, but is now left out for avoiding of scandal, but still understood and practised accordingly) hath forthwith free remission of all sin and punishment. Yea if the worst fall out, that a man be so negligent as to drop into Purgatory at the time of his decease, (which but by very supine negligence can hardly happen :) Yet few Cities are there wherein there are not one or two Altars privileged *Pro defunctis*, where for every Mass said a soul is delivered : and so great multitude of Britzans must needs make them ware cheap. I will not here warble long upon this untunable harsh string : neither will mention perhaps the former part of what I have seen much less will I now take up old rusty stuff out of the dead dust and darkness wherein time and shame hath suffered it to rest : Only for example sake, and for verifying of what I have said, I will set down some of that which is in use at this day which is printed on their Church-doors and proclaimed in their Pulpits.

In the *Eremitage* at *Padova*, their Preachers very solemnly publish a grant of plenary Indulgence from Baptism to the last confession,

session, with twenty eight thousand years over
for the time ensuing. The pardon of *Abbas*
de la star for thirty thousand years, to who-
soever before the Altar of our Lady, with Christ
and her Mother, shall say a peculiar Ave im-
porting that our Lady was conceived without
sin, is Printed anew in Italy, and pictured in
fairest sort. But these are for short times. At
the Sepulchre of Christ in Venice, a stately
representation, whereon is written, *Haec solum*
est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, (yet infer-
ring no real presence thereby, as I take it) with
verses annexed of *Conditor huius mundi*, there is
hanging in a printed table a prayer of St. *Vin-*
cent, a very good one indeed, with Indulgence
for fourscore and two thousand years, granted
from *Boniface the eighth*, and confirmed by *Bened-*
ict the eleventh, to Whosoever shall say it, and
that for every day *toties quoties*, which year
somewhat worth, than in a few days a man may
provide for a whole million of Worlds, if they
did last no longer than this hath done hitherto.
In Saint Francis Church at *Padua* I heard a
Reverend Father preach at large the holy histo-
ry of the divine pardon of *Sisyphus*, *Abbas de la star*
de la star, granted by Christ in Person at our La-
dies suit unto Saint Francis, extended to all such
as being confess'd, and having communicated
should pray in Saint Francis Church there of
Suscepit Mariam de la star; yet finding him, for
order sake, to his Vice Pope *Nobis*, that he

was to pass it, with many other re-appearitions and delectable strange accidents of solace and content to the pleasant minded believers: which Pardon is since enlarged by *Sixtus Quartus* and *Quintus* (who both were *Franciscans*) to all Lay-brethren and sisters that wear *Saint Francis Cordons* in what place soever. But to leave these Antiquities, and not to enlarge in Modern grants, but to restrain to one Pope of renowned fresh memory even *Gregory the thirteenth*, and some few of his Graces, he hath granted to the *Carmin* at *Siena* for every Mass said there at the Altar of the Crucifix, the delivery of a soul out of Purgatory whose they list, the like to many other. To the *Carmin* at *Padova* more liberally to every one that shall say seven *Aves* and seven *Pater-Austers* before one of their Altars on the Anniversary Wednesday in Easter week or else kiss the ground before the Altar of the blessed Sacrament with the usual prayer for exaltation of the Church, extirpation of Heresie, and unity of Christian Princes, both plenary Indulgence for himself and the delivery of what friends soul out of Purgatory he pleaseth. To the Fraternity of the Altar of the Conception of our Lady in the *Duomo* or Cathedral Church at *Padova*, confessing and communicating at their entry to that society, full remission of their sins at the hour of their death, naming Jesus with their mouth, (or if they cannot) with their Heart. The like ordinarily granted to others

Fraternities. To every Priest so often, as he shall say five printed lines, importing that he will offer up the precious body of our Saviour, so many fifty years pardon. Yet will I mention one also of the grants of this Pope, among other innumerable, namely to the Friars and lay-Fraternity of both Sexes of the *Carmine* at *Siena*; for every time they are present at their solemn Processions, plenary Indulgence for all sins past and seven years and seven *Quadrages* or forty days over in store for the time to come, and this for ever: with extent of like Grace to all other that with their presence shall honour those Processions, but to last for them no longer than the year of *Jubilee*. Now besides these and infinite other of this stile, there are Indulgences more free, and less restrained either for time, place, or duty to gain them: By grant from Pope *John* the xxth. every inclining of the Head at the naming of *Jesus* gets xx. years pardon: a matter in *Italy* no not this day unpractised. And to grace that Ceremony the more, I have heard sundry of their renowned Divines teach in Pulpit; that *Christ* himself on the Cross bowed his head on the right side, to reverence his own Name which was written over it. All Altars of Station (which are in very great number) have their perpetual Indulgences indifferent for all times. Sundry Crosses engraven on the pavements of their Churches, have Indulgence annexed for every time they

are kist, which is so often by the devouter sex, that the hard marble is worn with it. The third and fourth **Mass** (as they say) of every Priest, is a preservative or ransom of his Parents from Purgatory, yea though they should be sung without such intention: which causeth many wary men that would be sure from Purgatory, to make some one or other of their Sons a Priest always.

The saying of the Beads over with a medal or other trinket of the Popes **Benediction** appendant, gets plenary Indulgence, and delivers what soul out of Purgatory one pleaseth. And it is lawful for one to substitute any other medal in place of those blessed ones, which shall have like force with them. A clause of consideration, and which serveth at this day more turnes than one, and theirs especially which pass over Sea with double danger. All which with many other like helps considered; I must confess for my part I am farr from their understanding, who blaze so much the severity of the **Roman Religion**; unless we accompt that a strait inclosure which hath a multitude of posterns continually open, to let false people in and out, day and night at their pleasure: and rather incline to contrary conceipt, that presupposing the truth of their doctrine as it is practised, for a man that were desirous to save his Soul at his dying day, and yet denying his Body no wicked pleasure in his life time, no such Church as that of Rome, or such Countrey as *Italy*.

State of Religion, &c.

Of their Life and Conversation.

For I must speak also somewhat of their **Life and Conversation**, but as briefly as may be; being a **Theam** I take very small delight to handle, neither being of any great profit to be known. And yet is it known sufficiently to all men, and too much to some, who not content to sport themselves with all *Italian* impurities, proceed on to empoysen their Country also at their return thither: that we need not marvell if those rarer villanies which our Ancestors never dreamed of, do now grow frequent; and such men whom they would have swept out of the streets of their Cities, as the noysom disgrace and dishonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon or other desolate habitation, do vaunt themselves now, and with no mean applaue, for the only gallants & worthy spirits of the World.

But to touch so many of their lives in *Italy* as shall be necessary for this purpose, and rather indeed the causes than the effects themselves: it is not to be marvelled, if the glory of their Religion consisting most in outward shews, and the exquisiteness in an infinity of intricate dumb Ceremonies; if their devotions being not seasoned with understanding requisite, but prized more by tale than by weight of zeal; if as the vertue of their Sacraments, so their acts of Piety, being placed more in the very matter ma-

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teriality of the outward work, than in the purity of the heart from which they proceed: It is not, I say, to be marveled though the fruits also of conversation be like unto those roots; rather such as may yield some reasonable outward obedience to Laws, than approve the inward integrity and sincerity of that fountain from which they issue.

For although in their civil carriage one towards another, they have especial good virtues well worth the imitating, being a people for the most part of a grave and stayed behaviour, very respective and courteous, not curious or meddling in other mens matters, besides that ancient frugality in diet and all things not durable, which to their great ease and benefit they still retain; and there be also among them as in all other places, some men of excellent and rare perfection: yet can it not be dissembled; but that generally, the whole Country is strangely overflowed and overborn with wickedness, with filthiness of speech, with beastliness of actions, both Governours and Subjects, both Priests and Friars, each striving as it were with other in an impudentnes therein; even so farre forth, that what elsewhere would not be tolerated, there in high honour; what in some other place even a loose person would be ashamed to confess, there Priests and Friars refrain not openly to practise; Yea if any man forbear the like, they find it very strange and hold integrity for

little better than silliness or abjectness. I cannot here forget the saying of an *Italian* Gentleman of very good quality, but in faction *Spaniard* at my first entry into *Italy*; namely, that the *Italians* were excellent men, but for three faults they had: In their lusts they were unnatural; their malice was unappeasable; and they deceived the whole world: whereto as for rare Gallantes in those faculties, he might have truly added; they spend more upon other than upon themselves; they blaspheme oftner than swear; and murder more than they revile or slander.

Of their Lent.

Notwithstanding this testimony, I yield not only willingly but gladly to them, (for what joy could it be, what grief ought it not be, to the heart of any man, to see men fall irrecoverably from the love and laws of the Creator?) that at one time of the year, namely, at *Lent* they are much reformed; no such blaspheming nor dirty speaking as before; their vanities of all sorts laid reasonably aside; their pleasures abandoned; their Apparel, their Diet, and all things else composed to Austerity and state of penitence; they have daily then their Preaching with collections of Almshouses, whereto all men resort; and to judge of them by the outward show, they seem generally to have very great remorse for their wickedness, in so much that I must

confess, I seemed unto my self in *Italy* to have best learned the right use of Lent; there first to have discerned the great fruit of it, and the reason for which those *Sages* at first did institute it. Neither can I easily accord to the fancies of such, as because we ought at all times to lead a life worthy of our profession, think it therefore superfluous to have one time wherein to exact or expect it more than other; but rather do thus conceive, that seeing the corruption of times and wickedness of mens nature is now so exorbitant, that an hard matter it is to hold the ordinary sort of men at all times within the lists of Piety, Justice & sobriety; it is fit therefore there should be one time at least in the year and that of reasonable continuance, wherein the season it self, the use of the world and practise of all men, (for even the *Jew* and *Turk*) have their Lents (although different,) the commandment of Superiors, the provision of sinners to assist therein; and in sum, the very outward face and expectation as it were of all things, should constrain men how wicked and wretched soever for that time at least to recal themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses; lest sin having no such bridle to check it at any time, should at length wax head-strong and unconquerable in them; and that on the other side being thus necessarily inured for a while, though but to make a bare shew of walking in the path of vertue, they might afterwards perhaps more sincerely

cerely and willingly persist, (as custom makes hard things pleasant,) or at leastwise return more readily again unto them some other time. And verily I have had sundry times this cogitation in *Italy*, that in so great looseness of life and decay of discipline in those parts, it was the especial great mercy and grace of God that the severity of Lent should yet still be preserved, lest otherwise the floods of sin growing so strong and outrageous, and having no where either bound or bank to restrain them, might plunge that whole Nation in such a gulf of wickedness, and bring them to that last extremity, which should leave them neither hope of better, nor place but for worse. Yet and was so far from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the retaining of it unprofitable; that I rather enclined to like the custom of the Greek Church, who besides the great Lent have three other Lents also at solemn times in the year; though those other neither so long, neither yet of so strict and general observance. Two things are farther to be added in the honour of *Italy*. Their Nunneries seem for the most part greatly reformed of that they have been, and of that they still are in *France* and other places; where their looseness of government and often scandals ensuing, do breed them a reputation clean contrary to their profession. And the reason why the Monasteries and Convents of Friars are not re-

formed there also, is a fear, they say the Pope hath, that over great severity would cause a great number to dis-Frier themselves, and to fly to Geneva in hope of more liberty, which he esteemeth an inconvenience more to be shunned than the former mischief. Another thing very memorable and imitable in *Italy*, is the exceeding good provision of Hospitals and houles of Piety, for Old persons enfeebled, for poor folk maimed or diseased, for Gentility impoverished, for Travelers distressed, for Lewd women converted, for Children abandoned; which the devotion of former times hath founded and enriched, and this present age doth very faithfully and discreetly Govern. And if it were not for those Houles, in the number whereof, goodlines, great renewes, and good order blunppole *Italy* exceeds any one Country in the world, although it be incomparably, also the richest Nation at this day of all the West, by reason of their long Peace, and their Neighbours long Wars; yet considering that the wealth there is so ill digested, and so unequally divided in the body thereof, (the infinite and ever sucking veins of their Taxes and Imposts, carrying all the blood to the higher parts, and leaving the lower ready to faint, to starve and wither,) that it may be truly said, the rich men of *Italy* are the richest, and the poor the poorest things that any one Country can yield again, both which in a well policied estate were to be avoided.

were it not I say for those houses alone of piety, there would be more misery to be seen in those parts, (which all that notwithstanding is still great and excessive) than perhaps in the poorest peaceable Country of Christendom whatsoever. Besides those Hospitals, they have also other *Mansions* for free or more easie loan to the poor; seeing *Italy* as all other places is infected with Usury. And

Of their Ecclesiastical Government,

But to come now to the view of their Ecclesiastical Government, not so much as it is referred to the conduct of souls to their true happiness, though this be the natural and proper end of that regiment; but rather as it is addicted to the upholding of the worldly power and glory of their order, to the advancing of their part and overthrow of their opposites, which I suppose be the points they now chiefly respect: I think I may truly say there was never yet State framed by mans wit in this world, more powerful and forcible to work these effects, never any either more wisely contrived and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practice and execution, in so much that but for the natural weakness of usurth and dishonesty, which being rotten at the heart, abate the force of whatsoever is founded thereon, their outward means were sufficient to subdue a whole world.

of

Now as in every Art and Science there is some one or few first propositions or theorems, on the virtue whereof all the rest depend: so in their Art also they have certain **Head Assertions**, which as indemonstrable principles they urge all men to receive and hold. And those are, That they are the Church of God, within which great facility, and without which no possibility of Salvation: that divine prerogative granted to them above all other Societies in the world, doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matter of Faith, and from falling from God: that the Pope Christs Deputy hath the Keys of Heaven in his custody to admit in by Indulgence, and shut out by Excommunication as he shall see cause: that the charge of all Souls, being committed to him, he is thereby made Sovereign Prince of this world exceeding in power and Majesty all other Princes, as far as the soul in dignity doth exceed the body, and eternal things surmount things temporal; and seeing that the End is the rule and commander of whatsoever doth tend unto it, and all things in this world are to serve but as instruments, and the world itself but as a passage to our everlasting habitation; that therefore he that hath the sovereign managing of this high end, and the honour to be the supreme Conductor unto it,

hath also power to dispose of all things subordinate, as may best serve to it, to plant, to root out; to establish, to dispose; to bind, to loose; to alter, to discontinue; as may serve most fit for the advancement, of the Church, and for the attaining of the Soules felicity; wherein whosoever oppose against him, whether by Heresie or Schisme, they are no other than very Rebels or seditious persons; against whom he hath unlimited and endless power to proceed, to the suppressing, ruining and extinguishing of them by all means, that the Commonwealth of God may flourish in prosperity, and the highway to Heaven be kept safe and open for all Gods Loyal and obedient People. In these points no doubt or question is tollerable: and who so joyn with them in these, shall find great convenience in what other defect and difference soever; this being the very touchstone at which all men are to be tried, whether they be in the Church, or out of the Church, whether with them or against them. And by this plot have they wits erected in the world a Monarchy more potent than ever any that hath been before it: a Monarchy which entailing them *De jure* to all the world, layeth a strong foundation thereof in all mens consciences, the only firm ground of obedience in the world: and such a foundation as not only holdeth fast men thereunto, whatsoever it seareth on, but worketh outwardly also by Engines to weaken and undermine the

the State of all other Princes how great soever, and that in such sort, as by possessing themselves of the principal places in the hearts of their Subjects, (as being those from whom they receive their principal good, even the happiness of their souls) to incite them upon very conscience against their natural Sovereigns at pleasure; and by writ of excommunication to subdue or at the leastwise greatly to shake whom they list; without fighting a blow, without leavying a Soldier: and lastly, a Monarchy, which as it was founded by meer wit, so needeth not any thing but meer wit to maintain it, which enricheeth it self without toiling, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without spending, using Colledges to as great purpose as any other can Forrells; and working greater matters; partly by Scholars; partly by swarms of Filers, than any else could ever do by great Garrisons and Armies; and all these maintained at other folks charges; for so that rare point have they also proceeded, as not only to have huge Rents themselves out of all Forraign States, but to maintain also their Instruments out of other mens devotion; and to advance their favorites under the fairest pretence of providing for Religion, to the very principal performers in Forraign Princes Dominions. That no man think it strange, if finding the renewall of skill and cunning to be so great, and her force so mighty; especially where she worketh upon simplicity and

and ignorance; they enclosed heretofore all learning within the walls of their Clergy: setting forth Lady Ignorance for a great Saint to the Laity, and shring her unto them for the true mother of **Devotion**. And assuredly but for one huge defect in their policy, which was hard in regard of their own particular ambitions, but otherwise not impossible to be avoided; that they chose their Popes lightly very old men, and withal indifferently without any restraint out of all Families and Nations, whereby they are continually subject to double change of Government; the successor seldom prosecuting his Antecessors devises, but either crossing them through envy, or abandoning them upon new humour; it could not have been but they must have long since been absolute Lords of all; which defect notwithstanding, so strong was their policy by reason of the force of their cordial foundation, that no Prince or Potentate ever opposed against them, but in fine even by his own Subjects, they either mastered him utterly, or brought him to good conformity by great loss and extremity; till such time as in this latter age the untruth of the foundation itself being stoutly discovered, hath given them a sore blow; and changing in great part the state of the question hath driven them to a re-enforcement of new inventions and practices.

Of their Means to strengthen them.

Howbeit those positions being the ground of their state, and the hope of their glory, in them they admit no shadow of alteration, but endeavour still *per fas & nefas*, even by all Means in the world to strengthen them, and among their manifold Adversaries hate them most of all other, who have laboured most in sapping of that Foundation. And seeing that by reason of the Bookish age, they have not that help of ignorance which in times past they had: they cast about gently to soak and settle them in mens persuasions and consciences another way. They tell men that the very grounds whereon we build our persuasion of the truth of Christianity it self, are no other than credible; that the proof of the Scripture to be the Word of God, can be no other at this day than probable only: it being impossible for any wit in the world to produce an exact necessary and infallible demonstration, either that St. Paul had his calling from above, or that those Epistles were of his own writing: so likewise in the rest. And that the chief proof we have thereof is the testimony of the Church: a thing which even their adversaries are forced to confess. Now that this probable persuasion of the truth of Christianity doth afterwards grow into an assuredness thereof, this issueth from the inward operation of Gods Spirit; the gift

gift whereof is Faith: and that Faith being a knowledge not of ~~Science~~ but of Beliefs, which searcheth not by discourse the particular necessity of the verity of the things which are delivered, but relieth in general upon the approved wisdom, truth and vertue of him that doth deliver them: Surely whosoever will needs have necessary proof of the several Articles of his Religion, doth but wittily deceive himself; and by over-curious endeavours to change his Faith into Science, but lose that which he seeks to perfect. If then without Faith no possibility of salvation, surely needs must this be the highway to perdition. Now seeing that Christianity is a doctrine of Faith, a doctrine whereof all men even children are capable, as being to be received in gross, and to be believed in the general; the high vertue whereof is in the humility of understanding, and the merit in the readiness of obedience to embrace it, (for these have been always the true honours of Faith,) and seeing the outward proofs thereof are no other than probable, and of all probable proofs the Churches testimony is most probable: What madness for any man to tie out his soul and to waste away his spirits in tracing out all the thorny parts of the Controversies of these days, wherein to err is a thing no less easie than dangerous, what through forgery abusing him, what through Sophistry beguiling him, what through passion, partiality, and private interest

secret transporting him; and not rather to be
take himself to the high path of truth, where-
unto God and Nature, reason and experience,
do all give witness, and that is, to associate him-
self unto that Church, whereunto the custody
of this Heavenly and Supernatural truth, hath
been from Heaven it self committed; So that
two things only are to be performed in this case
so weigh discretely which is the true Church;
and that being found, to receive faithfully and
obediently without doubt or discussion whatso-
ever it delivereth.

Now concerning the first point, some doubt
might be made if there were any Church Chri-
stian in the world to be shown, which had con-
tinued from Christs time down to this age with-
out change or interruption, theirs only except-
ed.

But if all other have had either their end and
decay long since, or their beginning but of late;
If theirs being founded by the Prince of the
Apostles with promise to him by Christ, that
Hell-gates should not prevail against it, but
that himself would be assisting to it till the con-
summation of the world, have continued on
now to the end of sixteen hundred years with
an honourable and certain line of neer two
hundred and forty Popes all successors of St. Pe-
ter, both Tyrants and Traytors, both Pagans and
Hereticks, in vain wrestling, raging, barking,
and undermining; if all the lawful General
Councils

Councils that ever were in the world, being the Venerable Senates of Gods Officers, and Ministers, have from time to time approved, obeyed and honoured it, if God have so miraculously blessed it from above, as that so many sage Doctors should enrich it with their writings, such Armies, yea millions of Saints with their holiness, or Martyrs with their blood, of Virgins with their Purity should sanctifie and embellish it; if their Church have been a ruin always to them that opposed against her; a stay, repose and advancement to all her followers; if even at this day in such difficulties of unjust Rebellions and unnatural revolts of her neereſt Children, yet ſhe ſtretches out her Arms to the utmoſt corners of the world, newly embracing whole Nations into her boſom; if laſtly in all other oppoſite Churches whereſoever, there be nothing to be found but inward diſſention and contrariety, but change of opinions, uncertainty of reſolutions, with robbing of Churches, Rebelliſh againſt Governors, confuſion of Orders, nothing to be attended but miſchief, ſubverſion and deſtruction (which they have well deſerved and ſhall aſſuredly have :) whereas contrariſe in their Church the Unity undivided, the obedience unforced, the unalterable reſolutions, the moſt heavenly order reaching from the height of all power to the very loweſt of all ſubjection, with admirable harmony and unſeeking correſpondence, all bending the ſame

way to the effecting of the same work, do promise no other than continuance, increase, and victory: let no man doubt to submit himself to this glorious Spouse of God: on whose head is the blessing of God, in whose hand is the power of God, under whose feet are the enemies of God, and to whom round about do service all the Creatures of God. This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that she be reverently obeyed in all things without farther disquisition: having the warrant that he that heareth her, heareth Christ, and whosoever heareth her not, hath no better place with God than a Publican or Pagan. And what folly were it to receive the Scripture upon credit of her Authority, and not to receive the interpretation of it upon her Authority also and credit? And if God should not protect his Church always from errour, and yet peremptorily command men always to obey her, then had he made but very slender provision for the salvation of mankind, to whom errour in matter of Faith is certain damnation: which conceit of God (whose care of us even in all things touching this transitory life is so plain and eminent) were ungrateful and impious. And hard were the case, mean had his regard been of the vulgar people, whose wants and difficulties in this life will not permit, whose capacity will not suffice to sound the deep and hidden Mysteries of Divinity, to search out the truth of these intricate

cate Controversies, if there were not other whose Authority they might relie on. Blessed therefore are they which believe and have not seen: the merit of whose religious humility and obedience, doth exceed perhaps in honour and acceptance before God, the subtil and profound knowledge of many other. And lastly, if any man either in regard of his Vocation, or by reason of his leasure list to study the Controversies, let him take heed that he come not with a doubtful mind unto them; for diffidence is as the sin of Rebellion: let him be stedfast in Faith; let him submit his own reason to the Churches Authority, being the House of God, the Pillar and ground of Truth, let him be fast and unmoveably built on that foundation, and let his end be only this, to furnish and arme himself in such sort as to be able to withstand and overthrow those Hereticks, whom he shall at any time either chuse or chance to encounter. This is the main course of their perswading at this day, whereby they seek to re-establish that former foundation.

In the unfolding whereof I have been the longer, because trial hath taught me, that not by some mens private Election, but as it should seem, by common order, direction or consent, they have relinquished all other courtes, and hold them to this as the most effectual means in the way of perswasion to inlinate their desire, and to work their design. In considering where-

of there cometh into my mind that diversity which a wise Philosopher hath intimated in the wits of men, that some are of so sharp, deep, and strong discourse, that they yield not their firm assent to any thing till they have found out either some proper demonstration for it, or some other certain proof whereon to ground it assuredly : other are by nature so shallow and weak in that faculty, that they fear always error in working with it, and therefore do more willingly accord to whatsoever some of account for wisdom do barely affirm, than to any thing that reason alone (which they suspect) enforceth.

Now these latter exceeding the other as far in number, as in worthiness and honour of nature they are exceeded by them : The *Romanists* taking a course so fitting to the feeble and fearful humour of this sort, do greatly sway with them : whereas if they meet with one of the former more tough constitution, that will not be carried away with these plausible declamations, nor yield his assent in gross, without particular examination, they bestow small cost on him, as having small hope to prevail. Wherein I hold them wise in the rules of policy : that having found by certain and infallible experience, that the ignorance of the Laity was the chiefest and surest sinew of their greatness and glory, they now being not able to keep them longer in that blind ignorance, do cunningly endeavour so to lead

lead them out of the former, as to enter them withal into a second kind of ignorance; that being not content to see utterly nothing, at leastwise they may be perswaded to resign up their own eyesight, and to look through such spectacles as they temper for them.

Of their ways to Ravish all Affections and to fit each Humor.

This being the main ground-work of their Policy; and the general means to blind and establish it in the minds of all men; the particular **ways** they hold to **Ravish all affections and to fit each humor**, (which their jurisdiction and power being but perswasive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well-nigh infinite: there being not any thing either Sacred or Prophane, no vertue nor vice almost, no things of how contrary condition soever; which they make not in some sort to serve that turn; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on. Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the World; what honour with the ambitious; what obedience with the humble; what great employment with stirring and mettald Spirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and restive bodies; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity, what contrariwise

the austere mind in discipline and rigour, what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of State to profess the practick dispositions; what with the hopeful prerogative of reward can work; what errours, doubts, and dangers with the fearful; what change of vows with the rash, of estate with inconstant; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastical; what gorgeousness of shews with the vulgar and simple; what multitude of Ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant; what prayer with the devout, what with the charitable works of Piety; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections; what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawless conditions; in sum what thing soever can prevail with any man, either for himself to pursue, or at leastwise to love, reverence or honour in another; For even therein also mans nature receiveth great satisfaction) the same is found with them, not as in other places of the World, by casualty blended without order, and of necessity; but sorted in great part into several professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation

of reward, or born with, how bad soever, with sweet and silent permission. What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? what severity of life comparable to their Heremits and Capuchins? who wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and profession than their Mendicants? On the one side of the street a Cloister of Virgins: on the other a sty of Courtizans, with publick toleration. This day all in Masks with all looseness and foolery: to morrow all in Processions whipping themselves till the blood follow. On one door an Excommunication throwing to Hell all transgressours: on another a Jubilee or full discharge from all transgressions: Who learned in all kind of Sciences than their Jesuites? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary Mass-Priests? What Prince so able to prefer his servants and followers, as the **Pope**, and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? What pride equal unto his, making Kings kiss his pantaffe? What humility greater than his, Shriving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary Priest? Who difficulter in dispatch of causes to the Greatest? Who easier in giving Audience to the meanest? Where greater rigor in the world in acting the observation of the Church Laws? Where less care or conscience of the Commandments of God? To taste flesh on a Friday where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for

the Inquisition? whereas on the other side the Sunday is one of their greatest Market-days? To conclude, never State, never Government in the world, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effects soever they shall desire: where rigor and remisseness, cruelty and lenity are so combined, that with neglect of the Church to stir ought, is a sin unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no Law almost of God or Nature so Sacred, which one way or other they find not means to dispence with, or at leastwise permit the breach of by connivence and without disturbance.

Of their particular Projects.

But to proceed to the consideration of their more particular **P**rojects and more mystical devices for the perpetuating of their greatness. There was never yet State so well built in the world, having his ground as theirs hath in the good will of others, and not standing by his own main strength and power, that could longer uphold it self in flourishing reputation and in prosperity, than it could make it self necessary to them by whom it subsisted; all callings of men, all degrees in Common-wealths;

yea particular great Personages, then waning in their greatness, when they decay in their necessariness, to them from whom they have it. Which the Papacy nothing ignorant of, nor neglecting, hath by secret and rare cunning so deeply engaged and interested from time to time, the greatest Monarchs of Christendom, in the upholding of that State, that without the Papacy, sundry of them have no hope, and some no title to continue in their own Dominions. For to omit things more apparant and in the Eyes of all men, their pretended Authority to Excommunicate and depose them, to discharge Subjects of all Oaths and bond of obedience, to oblige them under pain of damnation to rise against them, to honour their murderers, with the title of Martyrs, (for to that degree of eternity have some of their sect grown :) the effect of which proceeding, some great Princes have felt and more have feared, and few at this day list to put it to the adventure : the tempering with so unlimited power in **Princes Marriages**, by dispensing with degrees by the Law of God and the World forbidden, by loosing and knitting Marriages, by device at pleasure, by Legitimizing unlawful and accursed issue, and thereby advancing into Thrones of Regality, often-times, base, sundry times Adulterous, yea and sometimes Incestuous and perhaps unnatural off-spring ; doth not reason fore-tell, and hath not experience adverred, that both the

For
part-

pers in such Marriages, and much more than
 whole issue are bound in as strong a bond to the
 upholding of the Popes infinite Authority and
 power, as the honour of their Birth, and title of
 their Crowns are worth? It was a silly conceit
 in them, who hoped that Queen *Mary*
 would not restore the Popes Authority in *Eng-
 land* by reason of her promise, when a greater
 bond to her than her promise did press her to it.
 What man ever in the world stuck faster to his
 chosen friend than the late King *Philip* of *Spain*
 to the Papacy, (notwithstanding with the
 Popes themselves his often jealousies and quar-
 rels;) having ordained moreover that all his
 Heirs and Successours in the State of the Low
 Countries by vertue of his late transport shall
 for ever in their entry into those *Seignories*
 take an Oath for the maintaining of the Papacy
 and that Religion? Is not the reason apparent,
 that if the Papacy should quail, his only Son
 with whosoever descend of him, are dishonour-
 ed and made incapable as in way and right of
 descent, of those great States and Kingdomes
 which now he holdeth; yea a fire kindled in
 his own house about the title to them? Nei-
 ther is it to be admitted into any conceit of
 reason but that this young King will be as sure
 to the Papacy as his Father, being born of a
 Marriage prohibited by God, abhorred haply
 by Nature, disapproved by the World; and on-
 ly by Papal Authority made allowable.

For,

For, for my part, I hold that opinion not unprobable, that the Marriage of Uncle and Niece (as it was in this case) is contrary to the Law of Nature, and not Gods positive Law only: seeing the Uncle hath a second right and place of a Father. But howsoever that point stand, wherein I dare not affirm ought, it is cleerly contrary to such a positive Law of God, as the reason and cause whereof must needs continue till the dissolution of the world or overthrow of mankind; and therefore in reason and Law no way abrogable or dispensable with, but by the same or an higher Authority than that which first did make it: that the Pope need not think they do him apparent wrong, who invest him with the Title of that man of power, who sitting in the Temple of God, exalteth himself above God. For what may it seem else, bearing himself for Head of the Church, to take upon him to cancel or Authentically to allow of the breach of Gods Law, without having his expresse and precise warrant for so doing? Though I am not ignorant, that they have distinctions for all this: which were a merry matter if Sophistry were the proper Science for Salvation. But by this and some other Marriages, these strange relations of alliance have grown, that King *Philip the second*, were he now alive, might call the *Arch-Duke Albert* both Brother, Cousin, Nephew, and Son: for all this was he to him either by blood or affinity;

affinity ; being Uncle to himself, Cousin-germain to his Father, Husband to his Sister, and Father to his Wife. And to come a step nearer home, the same rule of policy made me strongly conjecture till that now God by death hath prevented that mischief ; howsoever the Pope hitherto, what for fear of scandalizing, what for other respects, made shew not to be forward to consent to an intended Marriage between a Married King and his Mistress, much less to Legitimate the children Adulterously begotten, by finding nullities on both sides in the former Marriages, (things made on purpose, as he knoweth, to cloak a falsehood ;) that yet notwithstanding himself or his Successours would yield to it in the end, if any colour in the world could be laid upon the matter to salve the credite of his not erring Sea, and he might see good hope for that race to prevail : yea and it may yet be that in some other Match he will guide that stream into the same course : that so deriving the succession also of this other great Kingdom, upon issue, whose Title must hold of his Legitimation, he may be better assured of it than he hath been hitherto ; and have them for ever most firm and irreconcilable adversaries, to all such whether Subjects or Neighbours, or whosoever, as should oppose against his Sovereignty and unstinted power ; so searching and penetrant is the cunning of that Sea ; to strengthen it self more by the unlawful

Mar.

Marriages of other men, than ever Prince yet could do by any Lawful Marriage of his own.

Of their Dispensing with Oaths.

The **Dispensing with Oaths** and discharging from them, especially in matters of Treaty between Princes and States; is a thing so repugnant to all moral honesty, so injurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in it self, so scandalous to all men, that it may be they adventure not to play upon that string in this curious age so often as heretofore, for fear of discording all the rest of their harmony.

Clear it is that heretofore this made them a necessary help for all such Princes, as either upon extremity were driven to enter into hard conditions, or upon falshood and dishonesty desired to take their advantage against their Neighbours when it was offered. Which Princes having no means to salve their Credit with the world, but only by justifying the unholiness of their act, by the Popes holy Authority interposed in it; were afterwards tyed firmly to adhere unto him. And this was the case of *Francis the first*: with whom immediately upon his Oath given to *Charles the fifth*, for performance of the Articles accorded at his delivery, *Clement the seventh* dispensed; and by probable conjecture had promised him to dispence

penne with his Oath before-hand, upon hope also whereof he took it: The effect was for the Popes behoof, that ever after there was strict love and intelligence between them; testified finally to the World by that famous Marriage between the Son of the one and the kinswoman of the other. And verily though I hold in general too much suspiciousness, as great a fault and as great an enemy to wisdom, as too much credulity; it doing oftentimes as hurtful wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongful hurt from dissemblers: yet viewing the short continuance of sworne Leagues at this day, the small reckoning that Princes make of Oaths solemnly taken whether to Neighbours or Subjects, not faith but profit being the bond of Alliance and Amity, which altering once, the other have no longer during, it maketh me think not impossible that the Popes unlimited fingers may be stirring even at this day more often in secret, in uniting those knots of the bonds of conscience, than the world is ware of, at leastwise that by Authority and imitation of his example Princes assume unto themselves a like faculty of dispensing with their own Oaths, whensoever they can perswade themselves it is behoveful unto their Kingdomes, as he when to his Church. But howsoever that stands, this is very apparent, that by this doctrine and policy, the Popes opposites and enemies, especially

ally the States and Princes of the Reformed Religion, are inestimably prejudiced; being reduced hereby to a continual incertainty and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsels, and resolutions, there being a warrant dormant for all men to break League and Oath with them, and no need of particular dispensation from his Holiness; their Church long since by her rules, and some of great reckoning among them more lately by their writings, having published and Preached to all the world, that Faith given to Hereticks is not to be kept; that Leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking than in their making; denying that right unto Princes of Christian profession, which Christians unto Heathen, the Heathen one to another of how different Religion soever, yea all honourable Princes unto very Traytors and Rebels have always kept inviolable. And surely if Father Parsons at his late coming to Rome pretending to make peace between the English Scholars and the Jesuits, (who were charged with much indirect dealing, and large imbezzling) and setting down certain Articles between them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did by handling the matter as is said with such sleight and conveiance, (imitating therein a rule of fast on the one side and loose on the other in the ground of their order) as first to swear

swear the Schollars to observe that which was their part, and afterwards to leave the Jesuits unsworn to theirs; effect his secret and ambitious intent, and to the great grief of the Schollars make the Jesuits their Governours: what other account can be made of these Peaces and Leagues between those of the **Roman** and of the **Reformed Religion**, but that the one side being tied by Oath, and the other left free: (for so are they taught;) they shall so far forth only have performance and continuance, as shall prove to the advantage in ease or profit of that party which esteemeth it self left at liberty.

The Sacred, the Sovereign instrument of Justice among men, what is it, what can be in this world but an Oath, being the strongest bond of Conscience? this the end of strifes particular, this the soder of publick Peace, and the sole assurance of Amity between divers Nations: which being made here below, is enrolled in his high Court whose glorious name doth sign it; who hath made no grant of access to his Celestial Palace, but to such as having sworn once, though it redound to their own damage, yet swarve not from it; that nothing but mischief can be presaged to the world in this age most wretched, wherein perjury hath so undermined the very Tribunals of Judgement, that it hath chased true Justice out of the world, and left no place for a just man where

to stand against the Crafty. But what may be said when he that sitteth in the Temple of God, shall so far advance himself above God, as to dispense with Oaths made Sacred by the most holy and high name of God? when he that professeth himself the sole Umpire and Peacemaker of the World, should cut in sunder those only sinewes that hold Peace together: when the Father of Princes and Prince of Religion shall carry himself with so wicked partiality and craft, as in dissolving Oaths by afflicting therein the part he hateth, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him, to work his own certain advantage from both: and lastly, by making that Ancient bridle of the unjust, to be now an only snare to entrap the innocent, shall impose that blemish upon the name of Christianity, which Pagans in their natural morality have abhorred.

I will not here omit one other great help, which casualty rather than cunning may seem to have wrought: it falling out often in the affairs of men, that where wisdom hath furnished out sundry aids and instruments, there some also do frame themselves as it were by chance, springing out of the concurrence of divers accidents with the former.

who couple in the
and one King to one Pope and one King
being the world in hand there is no
not means for the Church to stand but by
lying upon this Pillar: and by leaning in this
of

to stand against the Church. But what may be
 Of the Greatness of the House of Austria
 As at this day the Greatness of the people
 of Austria, extending it self well nigh to all
 Quarters of Europe, and confining with many
 of the Popes principal adversaries: who having
 long since upon the rich purchase which they
 had of the *West-Indies*, devoured in assured
 hope and conceit the Monarchy of our
 Western World. And finding no fitter and
 more plausible means to enlarge their tempo-
 ral Dominion than by concurring with the
 Pope in restoring his spiritual, have linked
 themselves most fast with his Sea, and invest-
 ing themselves voluntarily with an office of
 their own Election have taken upon them to
 be the Executioners of the Papal Excommuni-
 cations; that having Title from the Pope who
 giving his Enemies States Occupanti, and di-
 stracting their Subjects from them upon fear of
 his curse, the rest they may supply out of their
 own force and opportunities. And for this
 purpose hath been erected and by them high-
 ly cherished, a that super-politick and inre-
 fragable order as they count it, of the *Three*
 who couple in their persuasions, as one God
 and one Faith, so one Pope and one King;
 bearing the world in hand that there is no o-
 ther means for the Church to stand but by
 resting upon this Pillar; and by uniting in this
 sort

fort all the Forces of the Christians, this the only means to vanquish that **Arch-enemy of Christianity**: That the *Italians* may not brag to have been the only men who have subdued the world unto them by their wit, the *Spaniards* having proved so good Schollars in their Schools, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending their advancement of Religion, and in their Instruments of religious Orders to practise mens minds with; yet in this they out-go them; that they use the Popes weapons, lightnings, thunders, and terrours, for Instruments of their own greatness; and his hope of re-establishing his spiritual reputation by them to the immoderate increase of their secular power by him; that the Pope also himself must in the end be constrained to cast himself into their Armes, and to remain at their devotion, acknowledging him thenceforth for his good Lord and Patron, whom heretofore he hath Governed and Commanded as his Son. A point which as some of the Ministers of *Spain* in the huff of their pride have not been able to hold in, but have braved the assembly of Cardinals to their beards, that they hoped ere long to see the day, that their Master should tender half a dozen to the Pope to be made Cardinals at once, whereof he should not dare to refuse any one; and that the Cardinals themselves should as little dare to choose any other Pope than whom he named: to their importu-

nate pressing of the Popes in these latter times to serve all their ambitious and raging turns, and the long prejudicing of the liberty of the Conclave in their Elections, hath given them good assurance that they speak as they mean, that their braggings are hopes, and these threats are purposes. But howsoever the great jealousy and fear whereof, as being not now to learn the *Spanish* haughtiness and insolence, (who in the pride of their Monarchy are grown also to swear by the life of their King,) have extremely perplexed some of the latter Popes; and driven them to very extraordinary and desperate resolutions; which they have paid for dearly; and in general have made it Enacted for a rule in that Sea, not so much to seek the repairing of their Forraign spiritual Authorities (if it cannot be done but by means of so huge inconvenience,) as to strengthen and make themselves great in their temporal Estate at home: Yet now seeing *France* beyond all hope of man re-united in it self, and likely to flourish as in its former prosperity, whereby they shall be able so to ballance these Monarchs as to make that part the heavier, to which they shall propend (an Ancient rule and continual practise of that Sea,) I should not greatly doubt, but that they will be content again, henceforward so long as matters stand in Terms they do, to entertain that good correspondence with the house of Austria,

Austria, as to serve them with their Excommunications, that they may be served by them with their Executions. The sweetness whereof as the *Spaniard* hath long since tasted in effect, having seized on *Navarre* by that only pretence; and of latter times in high conceit and hope; trusting to have embraced both *France* and *England* by the same means: so doubt I not but that other branch of the **House of Austria** in *Germany*, which hath engrossed and in a manner entailed to their house so many Elective States, the Empire, the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* with his dependances, and of *Hungary*, and are likely also to draw in the Princedom of *Transylvania*; whensoever they should attain quiet and security from the *Turk*, (which hath no great unlikelihood to be compassed in short time) would take the same course against the Protestants of *Germany*; having so many Prelates and other there to assist them, (who by rooting out the Protestants out of all their States, have prepared a good ground for such a future exploit:) Howsoever the Pope himself do yet forbear his thunders, having learned by his loss elsewhere, that it argueth in these actions more courage than wit, to make a noise ere the blow be ready. Now as these are the hopes of the **House of Austria**, for the enlarging of their Estate and molesting of their Neighbours: so for the entertaining of perpetual unity and

love amongst themselves, they use the grand preservative and help of Marriage, the only sure bond of Amity in the world: in so much that by continual intermarrying among themselves, they remain still as brethren all of one Family, and as Armes of the self-same body. These take I to be the means, whereby the Papacy hath assured so many of the greatest unto it.

Of the Nobility, and their Confession.

To descend from which to those that are next them in degree, the **Nobility** and other persons of Worth and Quality; the Papacy is not disprovided of his Instruments to work upon these also; it hath his baits to allure them, his hooks to retain them. I will not stand much upon the benefit which their **Confession** doth herein yield them, whereby prying into the hearts and consciences of all men, they attain knowledge of the secrets, they find the dispositions, they discover the humours of all the most respective and able persons, of what Country, or calling, place or quality soever. A matter of singular consideration in the managing of affairs of principall importance for the well-guiding of Councils: the ignorance thereof being cause of error in the wisest deliberations, and of uncertain success in the most grounded resolutions. To omit the great wealth which they heap thereby, perswading their penitents,

speci-

especially in that only hour of agony and extremity, to ransom their sins committed against God by consecrating their goods unto the Church of God: whereby they have prevailed in all places so far, the Jesuits above all other, who are noted and envied by other Orders of Friars, for engrossing the commodity of being rich mens Confessours, where good is to be done, with whom their pranks in that kind, have been so rare and memorable, that most States at this day have been forced by publick Order to limit the proportion of that kind of purchase. For in that case they can easily extenuate those other helps of Indulgences and of Requiemis at their priviledged Altars, and yet without touch of the Popes Omnipotency.

They count them but simple folk that can not use their several devices without crossing one the other how contrary soever. They can tell them that it may be for want of contrition in themselves, those Severaign Pardons wanted a fit Subject to work on: and so for the other after helps, the want of intention in the Priest, may frustrate the Mass of that Prerogative of Vertue; whereby their souls may perhaps Fry in Purgatory: when their friends shall imagine they shine in glory. That the only sure way of having good, is by doing good: and what good to be done at death, but the bestowing well of his goods: and

where better bestowing them, than upon him that gave them? And to God they are given, when they are given to his Ministers.

Of the Choice of their Cardinals.

Neither yet will I other than mention only the help: which the **Choice** of their **Cardinals** doth yield herein: whom choosings in great part out of the most Noble and Potent Families, that either voluntarily desire it, or can be induced to accept it; they both give good satisfaction to all Forreign Nations, but especially hold *Italy* to them in deep devotion; and strengthen themselves with the favour and support of those mens Kindreds, whom they have placed in the next step to the top of their glory: Yea and oftentimes by means of these Cardinals their assured Instruments, they insinuate themselves into the swaying of the government of those States wherein either by their Nobility or other Worth they bear Authority. A Policy of long usage and observed by many. The same also though not in the same high degree, they have wrought; and do still work in those Realms which acknowledge their **Roman Supremacy**, by the ordinary Bishops and other Prelats advanced in them. Who on the one side having sworn obedience to the Pope; on the other side having voice in the high Courts of Parliament (as representing the first of the

three Estates of the Kingdoms, and otherwise also employed in weightiest affairs; have carried themselves with that doubleness in their two-fold duty, as that still the Popes greatness hath been upheld to their utmost power.

For which cause some States, as the *Venetians* by Name, to counterminne that Foreign Policy with an inward provision, whensoever any of their Gentlemen set foot into that course, they dismiss them thenceforward even from those grand Councils, whereinto their very Birth-right and Family did give them entrance,

Of their Variety of Preferments.

But Jewels are rare, and for few mens wearing. Such are the honours of Cardinals, being made Kings Companions. The multitude and diversity of men of Spirit and Quality requireth store also and Variety of competent *Preferments* to entertain them with in good content and correspondence: a thing in all States of very necessary and chief regard. Wherein although the Papacy may seem at the first blush to have no Furniture extraordinary above other Princes, save only in one kind, for men of Ecclesiastical calling; (by which he is able to advance men of learning incomparably above any other Prince in the world, as having well nigh all the Bishopricks and Abbeyes in *Italy* with other Church Livings, almost half the Benefices in *Spain*, very many Ecclesiasti-

cal preferments of all sorts in other Countre
 at his bestowing: yet if we look into the use
 and practise of these times, it will well ap-
 pear that even by Ecclesiastical Livings be
 partly accommodateth and partly suffers (as
 by his Grace) to be accommodated, all pro-
 fessions and ages, though neither fit nor very
 capable of Ecclesiastical Order; what by dis-
 pensations or tolerations to be Administrators
 of Abbeyes, Bishopricks and other Benefices,
 as is used in *France*; what as in *Italy* and *Spain*,
 by assignations of yearly Pensions out of their
 Revenues: which being so great as there they
 are, they may easily; and having hope of ex-
 piring, they may contentedly bear. And most
 of this out of the Dominions and Territories of
 other Princes, and without any charging or im-
 poverishing of his own. A choice and refined
 piece of high quintessence of Wit, which never
 yet any State could so distill their brains as to
 aspire to, besides the Papacy. To let pass the
 infinite number of Honour and Livings, what
 Ecclesiastical, what Subordinate and Ministeri-
 al to them; and what also in part Temporal, as
 belonging to the Knights of the holy Orders,
 which are many: all which although not direct-
 ly in his own donation, yet in that they have
 their right either grounded upon, or greatly
 favoured and continued by his Religion, and
 in the decay of that (as experience hath shew-
 ed) were likely also to quail; are strong prop

to the upholding of the glory of the Papacy:
 Arming so many tongues and hands in the de-
 fence thereof, as either are or have hope to be
 advanced by it, and each drawing his kindred,
 Friends, and followers with him. A sweet
 enchanter and deceiver of men, in the hope of
 honour and worldly profit, which lulling off,
 even in the better sort, the Conscience asleep,
 doth awaken withal and sharpen the wit, to find
 out arguments for the proving of that conclu-
 sion which affection beforehand hath framed;
 and by custom and continuance engendred in
 them a persuasion that they have done well in
 that, which at the first their own knowledge
 could say was otherwise. How powerfully then
 may it sway with that other sort of men, whose
 belly being their God, maketh their appetite
 their sole Religion? Which if the experience
 of former times have not sufficiently affirmed;
 it were to be wished perhaps, that more fresh
 proof might have been given thereof once a-
 gain, in this Kingdom of *France*; where some
 of the wisest and chief have thought, that if the
 King should accord to the Clergies late suppli-
 cation, to bestow Church Livings upon fit men
 and only of Ecclesiastical Calling; those Prin-
 ces and Peers which now in regard of that par-
 ticular Commodity which they reap from the
 Church in *Tearms* it standeth, have unthought
 of their Swords in defence thereof, would soon
 turn them another way, to the utter razing of
 it,

(which)

it, that they might satisfie their greediness with the spoil of that State, whose pay they could no longer have.

Of the Clergy and their Prerogatives.

But for the **Clergy** themselves, who are in all places under the Papacy great in number and power, they are most firmly assured to that Sea what by the multitude of Exemptions and **Prerogatives** above the Temporality which under the Popes protection they securely enjoy; what with expecting of no other than utter Saccage and Ruine, if the opposites of the Pope should happen to prevail: so undiscreeet and violent hath been their carriage in most places, where they have been able either to bring or pull in also their Reformation. Yea herein also it hath befallen, as in some other things, that not only casual, but even meer cross accidents have redounded to the Popes great advantage and benefit: this great part which in this age hath been raised against him, having wrought this effect, to make the rest more firm, more serviceable & more zealous towards him. In so much that whereas in *France* in former times he was small regarded of any, but stomacked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, and appealed from by the Prelates; and lastly, either despised or neglected by the people: the hatred and rancour conceived against his adversaries,

(which

(which being first kindled by eagerness of opposition, is now by long continuance therein most strongly settled, have produced effects of clean contrary nature: the Princes and Cities have joyned in holy League for the upholding of him; the people with all fury have raged, have fought against, have murdered and sacrificed his opposites in all places; and the Clergy of France, which heretofore hath withstood him in many better Councils, doth now call mainly for his late **Council of Trent**, rejected over all the world saving *Spain* and *Italy*, to be admitted and established over all that Kingdom. A Council of all other most servile and partial to him, and carried by him with such infinite guile and craft, without any sincerity, upright dealing or truth, as that themselves will even smile in the triumph of their own wits, when they hear it but mentioned, as at a Master stratagem. Yea so strongly hath this opposition fastned his Clergy to him, that the name of a general Council is now the most plausible, which in former times was the most fearful thing to him in the world; and whereunto he was never brought with any better good-will than an old bitten Bear is drawn to the Stake to be Bayted by his Enemies, who dare tug him in Company, at whom in single they scarce durst bark: so powerful is the nature of all opposition to increase despite and hatred against the enemy; and to make friends

friends especially those that are interested in the same cause, to cleave more close together. Yea rather so wise is the ever admirable Creator even in all his works, of what nature so ever, as to temper the very accidents of the life of man with such proportion and counterpoise, that no prosperity without his inconvience, no adversity without his comfort, to chase out of mans life Security and Despair, the only enemies of all vertuous and honourable courses.

Of the Multitude of their Religious Orders.

To each thing hath the goodness of that wise Architect imparted a peculiar Badge of honour that nothing should be despicable in the Eyes of others. The Princes in Majesty and Sovereignty of Power, the Nobility in wisdom and dominative vertue, together with the Instruments thereof, as Riches, Reputation, Allies and Followers, and the people in their Multitude are respectable and honourable. Which multitude being of so great consequence in matter of State; the Policy of the Papacy hath in no wise neglected; but provided both reasonable entertainment for them, and fit means also to practise and work upon them. Here come in those heaps of their **Various Orders**, that multitude of Friars, which abound in all places, but wherewith *Italy* above all doth swarm. A race of people in for

former times honourable in their holiness; now for the most part contemptible in their wickedness and misery: always Praying, but with seldom sign of Devotion; vowing Obedience, and still contentious; Chastity, but yet most luxurious: Poverty, yet every where grasping and covetous: Which I speak not of them all, there being many among them of singular piety and devotion in their way; but of the far greater part as they are generally reputed where ever I have bin. But to return to the Aid which the Papacy doth reap from them.

Of their Providing for Children.

The only contentful care that the ordinary sort of men entertain in this World, is in providing for their Children, to leave them in good Estate, and not inferiour but rather above their Ancestours: which those that have many, being not able to perform for all; it is a great ease to them, (and such an ease as even Princes and great Peers themselves sometimes disdain not, but are rather glad of,) to discharge their hands of some of them, especially of such as by disgrace or defect of nature are either more backward or less lovely than others, at an easie and small rate; and yet with honourable pretence, namely by consecrating them wholly to the service of the Creator, and providing an higher place for them in his

his Celestial Kingdom. For such is their opinion of these Orders of Religious and Angelical perfection, as they usually stile them; the Friars also themselves having names given them by their Governours, each according to his merits importing no less; and as they increase in their holiness, so proceeding in their Titles, from **Padre Benedetto** to **Padre Angelo**, then **Archangelo**, **Cerubino**, and lastly **Seraphino**, which is the top of perfection. But for their own high conceit of their perfection and merits, this example may serve. I have heard one of their most Reverend Capuchins for zeal, Sanctity and Learning, Preaching in principal place before the Bishop, in sharp reproof of the forsaken crew of Blasphemous Gamesters, pray solemnly to God (though acknowledging himself first in humility a great sinner,) by his merits and discipline, by the tears which his Eyes had often shed, by the chastisement which with his Cord he had often given himself, by those many sharp Voyages, which for the love of God he had made, because they did grieve *Animam pauperis*, which was himself, that if there were any which should still notwithstanding his admonitions persist in that wicked Gameltry, he would strike them ere that day Twelve-moneth with some markable punishment. The same man another time in an extasie of Charity, (calling God, all his Angels and Saints to wit-

ness it,) to strip himself of, all his merits (though few he acknowledg'd) before the little Crucifix there, embracing and kissing it; and to pray it to reward them upon his dearly beloved Auditory; for whose sakes he was content also to be reputed the greatest sinner of all the assembly.

Of their Nunneries.

Such being their perfection then, the desiring it must needs issue from an honourable affection. Now although the *Italian*, being a thrifty manager, do in his heart greatly re- pine at a Custom that their *Nunneries* have of late brought up (being indeed contrained to it by the excessive multitude which in the former respect are thrust upon them;) which is, not to receive any Gentleman or Merchants daughter without a Dowry of two hundred Crowns, and fifteen or twenty Crowns yearly Pension during her life, and ten Crowns yearly Rent to their house for ever; neither admit they of any mean mans daughter without some Crowns also in name of a Dowry at their Spiritual Marriage to God, and those shall be but serving-Nunns to the former: yet finding of these two charges this far the easier, they are content to swallow down that, which by charity, they cannot remedy. But the Orders of Religious men bring them another ease also.

It disburdeneth their Country of an infinite number of discontented humors and despairing passions: Whosoever in his dearest loves hath proved unfortunate; whosoever cannot prosper in some other profession which he hath been set to; whomsoever any notable disgrace or other cross in his estate hath bereaved of all hope of ever rising in this world; whosoever by his miscarriage hath purchased so many enemies, as that nothing but his blood can give satisfaction to their malice: all these and many other reduced to like anguish of mind and distress, or otherwise howsoever out of taste with the world, have this Haven of content always open and at hand to flee to; when they can find no other place of repose to stand on, then resolve they to go *stricts* as they phrase it. Yea whosoever by his monstrous Blasphemy or other like villany hath deserved all the tortures and deaths in the world; if before the hand of Justice lay hold upon him, he voluntarily profess himself a Capuchin or Hermit, or of such like strict Order: the Pope doth forbid any further pursuit, as thinking his voluntary perpetual Penance sufficient: and of this sort is the greatest part of their Gentlemen Capuchins: for so are the most of their Order by Birth. Neither is this Religious life (save in some very few Orders) so severed from the world and the Commodities thereof, but that it enjoyeth as many contents as a moderate mind

mind need wish; and immoderate affections can find means also to satisfy themselves at pleasure: in sum, they are rather discharged of the toyles and cares, than debarred of the comforts and solaces of this life. Neither is there almost so mean a Frier among them, that hath not some hope to be Prior of his Convent; and then perhaps Provincial of that resort or Province; and lastly, not impossible that his good fortune may so accompany, or his merits so commend him, as to attain to be General of all his Order. The Generals are as fit to be made Cardinals as any men: and finally sundry of them within the memory of man, have been advanced from the Eminence of Cardinal-Dignity, to the Sovereignty of Papal glory.

Hope is a sweet and firm companion of man, it is the last thing that leaveth him, and the highest things it promiseth him; it makes all toyles supportable, all difficulties conquerable. Now the multitude of these Orders, and good provision for them, being so great an ease to all sorts of men in their private Estates, as they generally account it: it must needs be a great bond of their affections to the Papacy, under which they enjoy it, as by whom alone those Orders, are protected, and whom his Adversaries do seek utterly to exterminate and ruine. That I speak little of the particular persons who enter those Orders, who draw thereby their whole Race the more to favour that way,

which in so infinite a number of them must needs be of great moment. And although against this might be objected with great reason, the inestimable damage which the publick doth thereby receive, as in *Italy* for example, perhaps half the Land in many places thereof, and generally a full third, besides their other avails, being appropriated to this sort of people, and other persons Ecclesiastical; yea and of the people themselves, perhaps a quarter of a Million at least in that one Nation, having withdrawn hereby from all service of Prince or people, Common-wealth or Country, and confined themselves to the Cloyster-life in Beads and Oraisons, living wholly upon the Honey which the toying Bee doth gather; which perhaps with another quarter million of another sect, (I may err in both numbers, but I am as near the truth as by conjecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not been with those where I have) who have abandoned themselves to another trade, as idle, but more wicked, devouring with mens goods their Bodies and Souls at once; may be the cause that that Country, though as populous as it can well bear, yet comes manifold parts short of that strength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it self, or of fence of his Neighbours, yet notwithstanding these are Theorems which few list to speculate; the whole World running mainly to things sensible and perfect, and to that which profits them

in their own particular, though it bring with it a certain hurt and final ruine of the publick; without the safety whereof to them that judge things rightly, neither any particular estate can prosper.

*Of their multitude of Hearts and Hands,
Tongues and Penms.*

But the benefit which the Papacy doth draw from these Friers, consisteth least in this point in the accommodating and yielding content to other: it stands in the **Multitude of hearts and Hands, of Tongues and Penms**, dispersing in all Countries, but united in his Service, of men of most fiery and furious zeal, who with unceasing industry, and resoluteness incredible, give over no travail, leave no exploit so difficult and dangerous unattempted, for the upholding of the Papacy, and advancing of that Religion, on which all their comfort and credit in this life, all their hope of prerogative in the life to come dependeth; being of the other side esteemed for the most lousie Companions, the most unprofitable Drones, the most devouring Locusts, the most Reprobate Ignoble Ignominious and wicked Race, that ever the World was yet pestered with; in summe, more vile than the very mire that they tread on.

There was never yet State so well plotted in this World, or furnished with such store of

instruments to imploy in the service thereof, as to be able to practise and perswade with the multitude otherwise than in their publick Assemblies, or other Meetings, the Papacy onely excepted: who by reason of the infinity of these religious People, all made out of other Folks stufte, and maintained at other mens charge, is able, and doth deal in particular and private, as occasion requireth, with men, women and children, of how mean estate soever, instructing, exhorting, confirming, adjuring, kindling them in such sort, as makes fittest for their drift, and for the end they have proposed.

The difference in force and effectualness of operation between which private Perswasions, and those publick Preachings, where the Hearers, according to the use of mans nature, neglect that in particular which is commended to their regard in common; though easie to conceive: Yet they onely can sufficiently perhaps esteem, who have seen a Frier an abandoner of the World, a man wholly rapt with divine Affections and Extasies; his Apparel denouncing contempt of all earthly Vanity, his Countenance preaching Severity, Penance and Discipline, breathing nothing but sighes for the hatred of Sin, his Eyes lifted upwards, as fixed on his Joyes, his Head bowed on the one side, with tenderness of love and humility, extending his ready hand to lay hold on mens souls, to snatch them out of the fiery jaws of that gaping black Dragon, and

to place them in the path that conducts to Paradise; when such a man, I say, shall address himself to a woman, whose sex hath been famous ever for devotion and credulousness, or to any other vulgar person of what sort soever, perswading, beseeching with all plausible motions of reason, yea with sighes of fear, and tears of love, instanting and importuning no other thing at their hands than onely this, to be content to suffer God to save their Souls, and to crown them with everlasting happiness: which they shall certainly attain by ranging themselves with the heavenly Army of God, that is, by adjoyning themselves to the Church of Christ and his Vicar; and this again and again at sundry times iterated and pursued with shew of incredible care of their good, without seeking other meed or commodity to himself, save onely of being the instrument of a Soules salvation. Is it to be marvelled though such a man be received as an Angel of God, sent expressely for their salvation to whom he comes: though he prevail and possess them in such forcible sort, that no access remain for any contrary perswasion; that nothing so violent which they will not attempt, nothing so dear which they will not bestow for the advancement of that Church, by which themselves hope finally to be so highly exalted? And although all Friars being of so divers mental, are not able to play their parts so naturally, and with such perfection as some that I have

seen: yet being trained up in the same School, they all hold one course; and certainly by their dealing thus with men at single hand in private, and particularly applyed perswasions, (which though they use not continually, yet neglect they not whensoever opportunity doth require) they prevail as experience doth daily shew exceedingly.

Of their readiness to undertake, and resoluteness to execute.

What may I now say of their **Readiness to Undertake**, and their **Resoluteness to Execute**: what act how dangerous and desperate soever, that may tend to the advancement of their Side or Order? I need not seek far back, nor far off for examples. The late HENRY of France slain by a *Jacobine*, and this man wounded by a Schollar of the Jesuits, the one for want of zeal onely in their violent courses; the other as misdoubted of sincerity in his Conversion; may shew what measure their profest enemies were to attend, if they could obtain as open and ready access unto them. At this present the King hath gone in danger of his life a long while from a Capuchine, having at the Instigation, as is said of certain Jesuits of *Lorraine* undertaken to dispatch him: whose picture being brought hither by the MARQUIS DUPONT, caused search for him over all *Paris*, and at length he is taken, and lastly also executed, together with

and

another *Jacobine* convicted of the same Crime. And what may it not be thought these men would do ; being commanded by their Generals, whom they have vowed to obey, and in the Popes necessary service, and with his express desire ; who are carried with so desperate rage and fury, against whatsoever impediment their bare concepts, without warrant of higher Authority, present unto them ? And as in violent attempts to be executed by themselves, they are men resolved and hardy ; as having no posterity to be oppressed by their ruine, which of all other things doth contain men most in duty ; so in exciting the multitude to Sedition and Tumult, in favour of their Cause, and of their Catholick Religion, they are as sedulous and secret ; using the opportunity of Confession to practise the vulgar, with annexing of such conditions to the absolution they give them, as the turn which they intend to serve requires : a point very remarkable in weighing of the manifold fruits which at this day that Sacrament doth bear the Papacy.

Of late here at *Paris* it hath been discovered, that certain Confessors having taken a solemn promise of their penitents, that they would live and die in the Catholick Religion, yea, and die for it also if need should require : have enjoyed them thereupon to oppose by all means against the verifying of the Kings Edict for the Protestants. Soon after ensued a general rumour

mour and terrour of new Massacres, though upon no other great ground for all I can learn.

Of their very multitude of Fryers ready to be put in Arms.

But among many other points to be regarded in these Fryers, **Their very Multitude** seemeth to me to be one not of least consideration; if the Papacy being reduced to any termes of extremity, should resolve to put them in arms for his final refuge and succour. The **Franciscans** alone in the time of **SIXTUS QUINTUS** their Fellow and Father, are said to have been found by survey to be **XXX thousand**. The **Capuchins**, a late branch of them, do vaunt to be **VIII thousand** at this present. The **Dominicans** strive in competency with the **Franciscans** in all things. The **Jesuits** great Statists are withall exceeding rich, mighty, and many: but for their greediness of wealth, and rare practises to get it, infamous in all places. The **Carmelicans** and **Augustines** have their Hives in every Garden, and every where swarm. The other Orders of Fryers and Monks being exceeding many, complain not of paucity in their several professions. In summe, other Countries are sown, but *Italy* thick strewed with this kind of people: whose number perhaps in the whole may pass a **Million** of men; of which the one half

half at the least either are or would easily grow to be of lusty able Bodies, not unfit to be soon employed in any Warlike Service. If the Pope having play'd away the rest of his pollicies, were brought to this last hand, to set up his rest upon these men, what should hinder him from raising huge Armies of them in all places? Their course of life perhaps, their vows and profession? whereof himself hath the Key to lock and open at pleasure. Their unwillingness of mind, or backwardness to such actions? Which cannot be imagined by them that know their eagerness of spirit, and consider withall their standing onely with his State, and falling with his Ruine. Their unaptness then and indisposition of body? which fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of Orders, obedience to their Commanders, ought rather to make fit to all military Discipline. The difficulty then of assembling them in such cases together? Here needs must I celebrate the excellency and exactness of their Order and Government, being such as needeth not yield to any I know for that purpose. Each Order hath his General, residing at *Rome* for the most part, to advise with the Pope, and receive direction from him: who being men of great Reputation and Power, are chosen, though in shew indifferently, by all the Masters, that is, Doctors, of their order wheresoever; yet in an election so finely and cunningly contrived, that the Voices of *Italy* are far

far predominant : even as in the election of the Pope, the *Italian* Cardinals, and in their modern General-Councils, the *Italian* Bishops do far exceed all the rest of Christendome, that so the safety of the Papal See, and the greatness of *Rome* may rest assured. These Generals have under them their Provincials, as Lieutenants in every Province or State of Christendome : and the Provincials have under them the several Priors of Convents ; and these their Companies. A Commandment dispatched away once from the General, passeth roundly by the Provincials to the Priors with all speed. Being received by the Inferiors, they address themselves to performance : yea, though it command them a Voyage to *China* or *Peru*, without dispute or delay they readily set forward.

To argue or debate their Superiors Mandates, were presumption ; proud curiosity, to search their Reasons and Secrets ; to detract or disobey them, breach of Vow equal to Sacrilege : So that as in a well-disciplined Army, the General guiding, the Souldiers follow ; he commanding, they obey without farther question or doubt ; so these have no other care than to perform with dexterity, what Mandate soever their General in the plenitude of his Authority shall address unto them. This order, this diligence, this secrecy, this obedience in a people that may wander without suspicion in all places, and find good relief and aid in their passage, will answer both

both the former and many other Objections: to which being added the good grace, wherein they are generally with the vulgar, the means which they have to provide themselves of all things necessary; what with their repositories of reliques and silver Images, what with Church-plate and Treasure: wherein some of them are exceeding rich, and daily encrease: unless the World should with general consent bend against them, it may be, if the times should enforce such employment, they would be able, being associated with such Favourers as they should find, to make a very strong part for the Pope in all places; especially considering that these Forces should be then raised out of his enemies Countrey, and so weaken them, as blood drawn out of the Veins of their own Bodies. And that no man may deceive himself with that error, that in these professors of peace, there is no humour of War, that minds wholly possess'd with sweet contemplation, can embrace no thoughts of so bloody resolution; let him view but a little into the late French Troubles, he shall find that the military Companies of the Leaguers, were often times even stuff'd with Priests and Fryers, tall men and resolute. He shall find that of these people there have served what in Field what in Garrison at one time, sufficient to have made a great Army of themselves onely. He shall find that at *Orleans*, a Capuchine being expressly sent to that purpose by his Prior, went up and

and down the streets with a great wooden Cross, crying, "Come forth good Christian, destroy the enemies of the Cross of thy Saviour," and therewith put to the Sword at sundry times six-score of the Religion, till he left none remaining.

Lastly, he may understand, if he please, that very lately in *Paris* some of them in their Sermons have incited: not obscurely to a new **Massacre**, complaining that the Body of this Realm is sorely diseased, being over-charged with corrupt humours, as not having been let blood these five and twenty years as it ought. To conclude, I conceive this force of Fryers to be so great, what in regard of their very multitude, what by reason of their deadly rage against their opposites; that it would be hard for any State to bring in the Reformed Religion, without discharging it self first of this difficulty and burthen.

In *Germany* the first Reformers of Religion in this Age were Fryers themselves; who being men of great mark and reckoning amongst their own, drew their Convents and other troops of their Orders with them; and thereby set the rest in such an amazement and stand, that the Pope grew in a general great jealousy of them all, as doubting their universal Revolt from his Obedience. In *England* they were with great policy and practise dissolved before any innovation in Religion was mentioned; whereas to have
done

done both together, had been perhaps impossible: but first clean preventing them of pretence of Religion, and after finding their Religion clean stripped of that succour, both they were quietly ruined, and of this more quietly reformed.

In France this King, upon that outrage against his person, smoked the Jesuits out of their nests in most parts of his Kingdom. If he had done the like also at the same time to the *Dominicans*, (a most potent and flourishing Order in Spain above all other) in revenge of the murder of the King, his Predecessor: or if he would and could do it now to them and to the *Capuchins*, (who at this day next the Jesuits are of greatest renown) in punishment of these last practices so fortunately discovered; and so chastise the Schools also when he took their Schollars in so enormous faults, there were great hope for the Reformed Religion in time to prevail: which is now so prejudiced and persecuted by these Fryers, that hardly can it keep foot on the ground it hath. Thus much of the strength which these religious Orders do yield to the Papacy.

Of their Spiritual Fraternities.

Whereto I must add the like invention of *Spiritual Fraternities* and Companies, perhaps equalling, yea exceeding in number the Orders of Fryers: in which under the protecti-

on and in honour of some Saint, or of any other holy name, or religious mystery, and often times annexing themselves to some of the Orders of Fryers, the lay-people of all sorts, both men and women, both single and married, do enrol themselves into one or more of these Societies; approaching so much nearer to the estate of the Clergy, unto which sundry of them are no other than meer appurtenances. Whereby as they tie themselves to the Orders of them, consisting in certain extraordinary devotions and processions, bearing also at certain times some badge of their Company: so are they made partakers of all such spiritual Prerogatives, whether partnership in the Churches Merits, or interest in sundry Indulgences, some half plenary, some whole; some for the time past, some before hand for sundry years to come, and chiefly the avoiding or speedy dispatch out of Purgatory; as the Pope, and his Ancestors, for the encouragement and comfort of Christian people in their Devotion, have thought good in their charity to grant unto them. These Fraternities are not yet grown into any great request in other places: Howbeit in *Italy* they have so multiplied, that few, especially of the vulgar and middle sort of men, who either are or affect any reputation of devotion, but have entred into some one of them, and sundry into many. The assurance of whom to the Papacy must needs be doubled; with love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

Of the Policies of the Papacy against their Enemies,
 and of their Persecutions, Confiscations, Tortures,
 Massacres and Hangings. Others have done it
 Now come I to the last rank of Roman Pol-
 cies arraigned against their professed and fear-
 ed Enemies, by virtue whereof they both seek
 to re-vent where they have in this latter Age
 been diseased; and practise as well for the wa-
 sting away of their Opposites where they are; as
 for the shutting of them and their Doctrine out
 where yet they have not been. I will not here
 enlarge upon things manifest and ordinary, be-
 ing high ways so plain that a Guide were need-
 less. Their Persecutions, their Confiscations,
 their Tortures, their Burnings, their secret
 Murders, their general Massacres, their ex-
 citing of insward Sedition and outward hostili-
 ty against their Adversaries; their oppressing and
 abusing them where themselves are the stronger;
 are things whereof they were none of the Inven-
 tors: though perhaps the commendation of exact
 refining them, of straining them to their highest
 notes of sedulity and perseverance in putting
 them in execution, may be more due and proper
 unto them than any other. Neither yet will I
 trouble greatly with their art of flandering their
 Opposites, of disgracing their Persons, misreport-
 ing their Actions, falsifying their Doctrine and
 positions; things wherewith their Pulpits do
 daily

daily sound, and their Writings swell again. But they are not the first neither that have run this black course, no more than the formerred: others have done it before them; yea, the buying of mens Consciences, by proposing Reward to such as shall relinquish the Protestants Religion, and turn to theirs; as in *Augsburgh*, where they say there is a known price for every ben *Florens* a year; in *France* where the Clergy have made Contributions for the maintenance of renegade Ministers past and to come; is a device also not fresh and of easie conceit. I will rather insist upon their Inventions less trivial, and more worthy to be marked. A wonderful thing it is, to consider the great diversity of humors, or tempers of mind, which man brings with him, which the Age hath produced in this one point we speak of, touching the means of growing onward upon the adversary part. A sort of men shew lives in the World at this day, whose Leaders whether upon extremity of hatred of the Church of *Rome*, or partly also upon some spice of self-liking and singularity, to value their own wit and peculiar devices, did set out in such sort their reformation of Religion, as not only in all outward Religious Services and Ceremonies in Government and Church Disciplines, to strive to be as unlike to the Papacy as was possible, but even in very lawful policies for the advantaging and advancing of their part, to disclaim to seem to any to be imitators of their way.

dome, whose wickedness they so much abhorred: much like to a stout-hearted and stiff-witted Captain, who scorns to imitate any Stratagem before used by the Enemy, though the putting it in exploit might give him assured Victory. Neither do those mens Schollars as yet a whit degenerate; yea, perhaps that Disease (if with leave I may so censure it) hath tainted in some degree all the Protestant party, who never could find the means in all this age to assemble a General-Council of all their side, for the composing of their differences, and setting order in their proceedings; for want I must confesse, of some opportunities, but of a great deal of zeal also in their Governours, as to me it seemeth. Neither yet have they in any one of all their Dominions, erected any Colledge of meer contemplative persons, to confront and oppose against the Jesuits: but have left this weighty burthen of clearing the Controversies, of perfecting the Sciences, of answering the Adversaries Writings of exceeding huge travail, either upon their ordinary Ministers, to be performed at times of leisure from their office of preaching, (and they perform it accordingly) or upon such in Universities having some larger scope, shall willingly, and of their own accord, undertake for some time, according to their abode.

Whereas on the contrary side, the Papacy seems unto me very diligently and attentively to have considered and weighed, by what means

means chiefly their adverse part hath grown so fast, beyond either their own expectation, or the fear of their Enemies; as in less than an Age, to have won perhaps a moyety of their Empire from them; and those very means themselves to have resolved thence forward to apply in strong practise on their side also; that so as by a countermining they may either blow up the Mines of their Adversaries, or at least-wise give them stop from any farther proceeding: Like a politick General, who holdeth it the greatest wisdome, to out-go his Enemy in his own devises, and the greatest valor, to beat him at his own weapons. I will not here presume to press in with my determination upon this great difference and question; although it seeming to me to be no other than a plain quarrel between Stomach and Discretion; a small deal of wisdome, me-thinks might decide it: especially considering that all good things are from God, though they be found in his very enemy; and whosoever is not unjust, being used in a good course, is good.

Of the Reformers of Protestants preaching.

The first and chief means whereby the Reformers of Religion did prevail in all places, was their singular assiduity and dexterity in **Preaching**; especially in great Cities and Palaces of Princes; (a trade at that time grown clean in a manner out of use and request) whereby the people

people being ravished with the admiration and love of that light which so brightly shined unto them, as men with the Sun, who are newly drawn from a Dungeon; did readily follow those who carried so fair a Lamp before them. Hereto may be added, their publishing of Treatises of Vertue and Piety, of spiritual exercises and devotion; which ingendred a firm persuasion in the minds of men, that the soil must needs be pure, sound and good, from whence so sweet, so wholesome, and so heavenly fruits had proceeded. Now though the Opinions of the Papacy, and of a great part of the Reformed Religion, be as opposite herein well-nigh as heat and cold, as light and darkness; the one approving no devotions severed from understanding, to be a means often rather to divert or dazle the devotion, than to direct and cherish it: and for preaching in like sort, the French Protestants making it an essential and chief part of the Service of God; whereas the *Romanists* make the Mass only a work of duty, and the going to a Sermon but a matter of convenience, and such as is left free to mens pleasures and opportunities, without imputation of sin: yet in regard of the great sway which they have learned by their loss, that these carry in the drawing of mens minds and affections, they have endeavoured in all places, in both these kinds, to equal, yea and surmount their Adversaries. For although a multitude of Preachers they greatly come

short, being an exercise wherein the Secular Priests list not to distemper their brains much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the Regulars and Fryers: and these thinking the Country-capacities too blockish, or otherwise not worth the bestowing of so great cost on, do employ themselves wholly in Cities, and other places of greater resort; all which they have great care to have competently furnished: yet in the choice of them whom they send out to preach, in the diligence and pains which they take in their Sermons, in the Ornaments of Eloquence, and grace of action, in their shew of Piety and Reverence towards God, of zeal towards his Truth, of Love towards his People; which even with their Tears they can often testify: they match their Adversaries in their best, and in the rest do far exceed them. But herein the Jesuits do carry the Bell from all other; having attained the commendation, and working the effect, of as perfect Orators as these times do yield. And of these beside certain drawn yearly by lot to go preach abroad among Infidels and Hereticks; and besides other times of the year wherein they preach to their Catholicks at Lent in especial, by order from their General, residing at *Rome*, their choice Preachers are sent out, one to each City in *Italy*; with yearly change. And the custome of *Italy* is for the same man to preach every day in Lent without intermission, if their strength will serve them;

whereof

whereof six dayes in the week to preach on the Gospels appportioned, and the *Saturday* in honour and praise of our Lady. So in their yearly change, there is the delight of varieties; and in their daily continuing of the same, the admiration of industry. Some such like course it is to be thought that the Jesuits hold also in other Countreies; their Projects being certain, and exactly pursued. But wonderful is the Reputation which redounds thereby to their Order, and exceeding the advantage which to their side it giveth. For Books of Prayer and Piety, all Countreies are full of them at this day in their own Language: both to stop in part the Out-cry of their Adversaries against them, for imprisoning the people wholly in those dark devotions; and specially to win the love of the world unto them by this more inward and lively shew of true sanctity and godliness: Yea herein they conceive to have so surpassed their opposites, that they forbear not to reproach unto them their poverty, weakeness, and coldness in that kind; as being forced to take the Catholicks Books to supply therein. Which as on this side it cannot be altogether denied to be true; so on the other side it had greatly been to be wished, that those Books of Christian Resolution and Exercise had been the fruits of the Consciences, rather than of the wits of those that made them; (which in some of them, as **PARSONS** by name, to

have been otherwise; besides the rest of his actions unsuitable to those Resolutions, some of the more zealous also in their way have not forborn to confess:) that by performing of so good works with a good mind, to a good end, and conforming their own Lives and Demeanors accordingly; they might have prepared mens minds to an hope of a thorough Reconciliation; whereas now by using holiness it self for a meer instrument of practises, and to win men to their Party; they cannot but drive the World into such a labyrinth of Perplexities and Jealousies; as to suspect alwayes their Policies, and despair of their Honesties.

Of their well educating of Youth.

A second thing whereby the Protestant party hath so greatly enlarged, hath been their well **Educating of Youth**, especially in the principles of Christian Religion and Piety: wherein their care and continuance is even at this day in many places very worthy to be commended of all, and imitated by them who have hitherto been more remiss in that kind, than were requisite; the Education of Youth, and sowing in those pure minds the seeds of Vertue and Truth, before the Weeds of the World do canker and change the Soil, being by the consent of the most renowned wise men in the World, a point of incomparable force and moment for the well

ordering and governing of all kind of States, and for the making of Common-wealths ever flourishing and happy.

And as good Education is the preservation of a good State; so all kind of Education conforming to the Laws and Customs in being, upholdeth States in the terms wherein they are: the first reasoning with opinions and accustomances whatsoever, being of double force to any second persuasions and usages: not comprising herein those nimble and quick-silver'd brains which itch after change, liking in their Opinions, as in their Garments, to be noted to be followers of Outlandish fashions; as being of a more refined and sublimed temper than that their Country conceits can satisfy. Herein then the Papacy being taken short by the Protestants (even as in the former) and mightily over-run ere they were aware thereof: notwithstanding as difficulties do rather kindle than daunt the generous spirits, and add that to their diligence which was wanting in their timeliness, so these men have bestirred themselves so well therein, to follow the trace which their Adversaries had led them, that in fine they have in firm sorts out-grown them in it, and quoted them in all, one only excepted, that they respect not much the instruction of the Children of the meaner sort; as being likely to sway little; whereas the Protestants seem in religious instruction indifferent to both. But for the rest,

what

what is it they have omitted? what Colledges for their own? what Seminaries for Strangers, to support and perpetuate their factions and practices in their Enemies Dominions, have they not instituted almost in all parts of Christendom, and maintained still at their own and favourites charge? Is it a small brag which some of their side do make, that their English Seminaries abroad send forth more Priests than our two Universities at home do Ministers? Behold also the Jesuits, the great Clerks, Politicians and Orators of the World, who vaunt that the Church is the Soul of the World, the Clergy of the Church, and they of the Clergy; do stoop also to this burthen, and require it to be charged wholly upon their Necks and Shoulders. In all places where ever they can plant their Nests, they open Free-Schools for all studies of Humanity. To these flock the best wits, and principal mens Sons, in so great abundance, that where ever they settle, other Colledges become desolate, or frequented only by the baser sort, and of heavier metal: And in truth, such is their diligence and dexterity in instructing, that even the Protestants in some places send their Sons unto their Schools, upon desire to have them prove excellent in those Arts they teach. Besides which, being in truth but a bait and allurements, whereto to fasten their principal and final hook; they plant in their Schollars with great exactness and skill the roots of their Religion,

gion, and nourish them with an extreme hatred and detestation of the adverse Party. And to make them for ever intractable of any contrary perswasion, they work into them by great cunning and obstinacy of mind, and sturdy eagerness of spirit, to affect victory with all violence of wit in all their concertations: Than which no greater enemy to the finding of truth; which being pure and single in his own nature and author, appeareth not but to a clear and sincere understanding, whom neither the fumes of fiery passions do misten, nor sinister respects or prejudices sway down on either side from the pitch of just integrity. Neither think I any unfitter sort of men in the World to be employed in the contemplation and search of truth, than these hot men and heady, who being suddain in their actions, rise lightly in that which cometh first to hand, and being stiff in their resolutions, are transported with every præjudicate conceit from one error into another; having neither the patience they should, to weigh all points diligently; nor the humility to yield up their own fancies to reason; neither yet that high honourable wisdom, as to know that truth being the mark they profess to strive at; in the overthrow of their Errors, they attain the sum of their desires, and remain conquerors, by being conquered. Yea, sundry times have I seen two eager Disputers lose the truth, and let it fall to the ground between them, which a calm-minded hearer

hearer hath taken up and possessed. But these Jesuits presuming perhaps of the truth beforehand, and labouring for no other thing, then the advancing of their Parry, endeavour, as I said, by all means to imbreed that fierceness and obstinacy in their Schollars, as to make them hot Prosecutors of their own Opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary considerations; as having their eyes fixt upon nothing, save onely victory in arguing. For which cause to strengthen in them those passions by exercise; I have seen them in their bare Grammatical Disputations enflame their Schollars with such earnestness and fierceness, as to seem to be at the point of flying each in th' others faces, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seen the like before, but to their own great content and glory as appeared. Over and above all this, they have instituted in their Schools a special Fraternity or Congregation of our Lady, with certain select Exercises and Devotions: into which it being a reputation to be admitted, it must cause incongruity, the forwardest of their Schollars to fashion themselves by all means as to content their humors; and so to be received in shew into a degree of more honourable estimation, but in truth unto no other than a double bond of assurance. I shall not need here to insert their singular diligence and cunning in enticing, not seldom the most Noble of their Schollars, and oftentimes the most adorned with

with the graces of nature and industry : especially if they have likelihood of any wealthy succession, to abandon their friends, and to profess their Order : (a thing daily practised by them in all places :) yea, where ever they spy any Youth of rarer spirit, they will be tampering with him, though he be the onely son and solace of his Father.

Whereby though they draw on them much clamor and stomach, yet do they greatly enhance the renown of their Society, by furnishing it with so many persons of excellent quality or nobility: whom afterwards they employ with great judgment as they find each fittest. Neither yet do they here make an end with this part : this Order hath also their solemn Catechising in their Churches on Sundays and Holydays, for all Youth that will come, or can be drawn unto it : that in no point the diligence of their Adversaries may upbraid them.

But this point of their Schools and instructing Youth is thought of such moment by men of wisdom and judgment, being taught so by very experience and tryal thereof : that the planting of a good Colledge of Jesuits in any place is esteemed the onely sure way to replant that Religion, and in time to eat out the contrary. This course hold they in all Germany, in Savoy, and other places, and the excluding it from France is infinitely regretted, and that which makes them uncertain what will become of that Kingdom.

Of their Offers of Disputation.

A third course that much advantaged the Protestants proceedings; was their **Offers of Disputation** to their Adversaries in all places; their iterated and importuned Suits for publick Audience and Judgment: a thing which greatly assured the multitude of their soundness, whom they saw so confident in abiding the hazard of trial, being that whereof the want is the onely prejudice of Truth, and the plenty the onely discovery and ruine off Falshood; they standing in like terms as a substantial just man, and a facing knave, whereof the ones credit is greatest there where he is best known, and the others where he is least. And by reason that the *Romanists* were not so cunning then in the Questions, nor so ready in their Evallions and Distinctions, as they are now grown: the effect of these Disputations, whether received or refused, was in most places such as to draw with them an immediate alteration of Religion.

Henceunto may be added those admirable pains which those first Reformers undertook and performed, in translating the Scriptures forthwith into all Languages, in illustrating all parts thereof with ample comments, in addressing Institutions of Christian Religion, in deducing large Histories of the Church from the foundation to their present times, in furnishing all com-

mon places of Divinity with abundance of matter, in exact discussing of all controverted questions, and lastly in speedy reply to all contrary writings: the greatest part of these labours tending to the justifying of their own Doctrine, and to the discovery of the corruption and rottenness of the other; that they might over-bear those with the streams of the evidence of reason, by the strength of whose power they complained to be over-born. There is not scarce any one of these kinds of writings (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar Languages) wherein the *Romanists* have not already, or are not like very shortly, either to equal, or to exceed their Adversaries: in multitude of works, as being more of them that apply those studies; in diligence, as having much more opportunities of help and leisure; in exactness, as coming after them, and reaping the fruits of their travails; though, in truth, they come short and in ingenuity, being truths companions. But as for the Controversies themselves, the main matter of all other, therein their industry is at this day incomparable: having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpened their own proofs, devised certain, and resolved on either Answers or evasions for all their Adversaries Arguments, Allegations and Replies; (yea, they have Differences to divert their strongest Oppositions, Interpretations to elude the plainest Texts in the World; Circum-

stances

stances and Considerations to enforce their own
 feeblest conjectures; yea, reasons to put life into
 their deadliest absurdities; as in particular, a very
 fair case in School-learning and proportions, to
 justify their Popes Grants of many seage thou-
 sand years pardon; that in assistance of this fun-
 niture, and of their promptness of speech and
 wit, which by continual exercise they aspire to
 perfect; they dare enter into combat even with
 the best of their Oppugners, and will not doubt
 but either to entangle him so in the snarles of
 their own quirks, or at least-wile so to avoid and
 put off his blows with the manifold wards of
 their multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary
 Auditor shall never conceive them to be van-
 quished, and a favourable shall report them van-
 quishers.

Whereupon they now to be quit with their
 Adversaries, and by the very same art to draw
 away the multitude, cry mainly in all places for
 tryal by disputations. This *Campion* the Jesuits
 did many years since with us: this, as I passed
 through *Zurich*, did the Cardinal *Andree* of
Constance, and his Jesuits with their Ministers,
 being by ancient Right within his Diocess. Not
 long before, the same was done at *Geneva*; and
 very lately the *Capuchins* renewed the Chal-
 lenge. In which parts I observed this discrete
 valour on both sides; that as the *Romans* offer
 to dispute in the Adversaries own Cities, which
 they know their Magistrates will never accord

to the Ministers, in supply thereof, offer to go to them to their Cities, and that now is as much disliked on th other part; each side being content that the fire should be kindled rather in his enemies house, than in his own. Yea, there are not wanting some temperers among them, that have been talking a long while (whether out of their own dreams, or out of the desires of some greater persons, which I half conjecture) of a **General solemn Conference** to be sought and procured of the choise and chief every way of both the sides; under pretence of drawing matters to some tolerable composition; but in truth, as I conceive, rather to overbear and disgrace the contrary cause, with their variety of engines, and strength of wit to wield them at all assays at pleasure, than upon sincerity of affections, or probability of any unity or peace to ensue. So great is their hope of having cure by that very weapon from whence heretofore they have had their wounds.

Of their discovery of Blots.

The fourth way that mightily afflicted the Papacy and consequently advanced the Reformation in her proceedings; was a course in my opinion surely more excusable where it cannot, than commendable, where it can be spared: and that is the **Discovery** of the private **Blots** of an enemy, farther than the question in hand constraineth. However, the Protestants, at leastwise sundry of

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them, by example of those ancient renowned Orators, ripped up to the quick the lives of their Adversaries in their particular actions, especially of the Popes and of their Prelates, as also of their Votaries of all sorts and sexes.

Wherein the store of matter was so huge, the quality of it so enormous, loathsome and ugly, matchable in all kind of villany to the veriest monsters of the Heathen; the persons defiled with it of so eminent place in the steering and upholding of their Church; and lastly, the truth thereof so undoubted and certain, being drawn from the times past out of their own stories, and Authors, Printed and approved among themselves to be true, for that present, being of things done ordinarily for the most part, and openly in the sight of all men at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, (even as they continue perhaps not much better in many things at this very day;) that the publishing and presenting it to the prepared minds of the world, besides an extream horror and detestation which it brought, did work in them this perswasion also, that it could not be but Hell gates had prevailed against that See, whose Governors, whose Prelates, whose Priests, whose Virgins, had lived most of them so long time in the very jaws of the Prince of Hell, neither that it was probable they had been careful in preserving the Doctrine of Christianity, who had been so careless of all parts of Christian life and honesty. And as in their Lives, so in their Writings also of Doctrine and Devotion, and in their

their Actions concerning them: their despying of the Pope with most impious flattery; their abusing of the Scriptures with all irreverence and prophanity; their juggling in their Images, to make them weep, sweat and bleed; to raise in the people a devotion towards them of Heathenish Idolatry; their forging of Miracles in Exorcisms, in Cures, in apparition of Souls, for their lucre and advantage; their granting of Pardons to some Prayers before Images for XXX thousand long years; their Pardons for Sins to come, before they be committed; their shameless and ridiculous Tales of our Saviour and the Saints, making Marriages here upon Earth between him and some of their women-Saints, with infinite childish vanity and sottish absurdity; as to their Adversaries it seemed; (though themselves, I must confess, conceive otherwise of them, some of their graver Doctors both preaching them still in Pulpit, and publishing them newly in ample and elaborate Histories;) their promising to the use of certain devotions to our Lady, to have a sight of her sometime before their dying days; adding to this, and much more their falsifying and forgery in all matters of Antiquity, thrusting in, cutting out, suppressing true, suborning feigned Writings, as their turns did require: all which though being in this sort unto them, they had either their allegations of good intents to defend; or at least-wile their commiserations of humane infirmity to excuse them: yet were they not so washed away from the minds of

the people, who could not conceive this house to have been guided by the Spirit of God, wherein they saw so many foul spirits of Pride and Hypocrisie, of Lying and Deceiving, to have born so great Office so long, and without controlment. These things being perceived by the Favorites of the Papacy to have made so deep impression in the hearts of all men, and to have greatly prejudiced them in their more plausible allegations, mens hearts being already taken up and fraught with detesting them; they have cast about for revenge and redress in the same kind; not as the plain blunt Protestant, who finding all his matter made ready to his hands, bestowed no other cost, but the collecting and setting it in some order together; but like a supernatural Artist, who in the sublimity of his refined and refining wit, disdains to bring only meer art to his work, unless he make also in some sort the very matter it self; so these men in blacking the lives and actions of the Reformers, have partly devised matter of so notorious untruth, that in the better sort of their own Writers it happens to be checked; partly suborned other Postmen to compose their Legends, that afterwards they might cite them in proof to the world as approved Authors and Histories; as is evident in the lives of CALVIN and BEZA, written by their sworn enemy *Bolsacke*, the twice banished and thrice renegade Fryer and Physitian, for those names his often changes and hard changes have given him.

10 This man being requested by their side to write thus, is now in all their Writings alledged as Claſſical and Canonical. But in this kind ſurely me-thinks the conditions of theſe Parties are too too unequal. For the Proteſtant whatſoever he ſay either in impeaching his Adverſary, or clearing his own actions, unleſſe he can directly prove it out of the Adverſaries own writings, it is with them as nothing; and no better than are *Teſtes domeſtici* in the Law: whereas the Romaniſt, whatſoever he ſlanderouſly ſuſtaineth, unleſſe the other Party be able by direct proof to diſprove it, (which being to juſtify the negative, is alwayes very difficult, and for the moſt part impoſſible;) he triumphs as in a matter of truth not to be gainſaid; and howſoever makes his accompt, that in theſe kinds of blows, even where the Wound is cured, the ſcar lightly continueth. At this preſent they give out, that they have a Book in hand of the lives of the Miniſters of England: amongſt whom it were to be wiſhed, that ſome, who by their examples in diſſoluteneſs and corruption, have given occaſion of offence againſt the Order it ſelf, might by their exemplary puniſhment with all expiate the reproach.

Though at theſe mens hands, who, in diſgrace of our Prelates, have cited **MARPRELATE** in their late Books for a grave Author and Witneſs, and others of like and leſs indifferency and honeſty: the innocent and culpable are to expect perhaps like meaſure. Then for the Writings and

Doctrine of the Protestants, the Books of some of our own Country-men, besides many other are famous; who have taken a toyl, how meritorious God knows, sorely very laborious, out of infinite huge Volumes, which that part hath written, to pick out whatsoever, especially severed from the rest, may seem to be either absurdly, or falsely, or fondly or scandalously, or dishonestly, or passionately, or shuttishly, conceived or written; for even in that kind having the advantage of the homely phrase of our Country, and namely in those times they have not spared; and these with their crossings and contradictings one of another, set cunningly together, they present to the view of the World; and demand whether it be likely that these men should have been chosen extraordinarily by God, to be the Reformers of the Church, and Restorers of his Truth; who besides their vitious Lives and hateful Conditions, in their more sober thoughts and very Doctrine it self, were possessed with so phantastical, so wild, so contrary, so furious, so male-dicent, and so slovenly spirits. Wherein as they do in some sort imitate their Adversaries; so yet with this difference, that the one hath objected that, which either as being the approved Doctrine of their Church was with publick Authority delivered unto the people; or else which was so usual amongst their Canonists and Clergy, as might plead uncontrolled custom to shew it lawful. Whereas the other part finding be-like small store of that nature, have run for supply to every particular

ticular mans Writings : wherein in so huge a multitude of Authors and Works as in this over-rank Age mens fingers over-itching have produced ; it had been surely a great Miracle, if they should not have found matter enough ; either worthy to be blamed, or easie to be depraved in their enemies Writings ; one of the most renowned Sages and Fathers of the ancient, having found so much to condemn and retract in his own. And if the Protestants should list to requite them in that kind, they might perhaps find stuff enough, I will not say as One doth, to load an *Argosie* ; but to over-lade any mans wit in the World to reply to. But verily these courses are base and beggarly, even when singleness of mind and truth doth concur with them, and far unworthy of an ingenuous and noble spirit, which soareth up to the highest and purest paths of verity, disdaining to stand raking in these puddles of Obscenity : unworthy of that charitable and vertuous mind, which striveth by doing good to all to attain the high honour of being an Imitator of God ; which is sory of those very thoughts that infect his enemy, and discloseth them no farther than is necessary either for defence of impugned truth, or for warning unto the World to avoid the contagion of the Disease, or seducement by the dangerously and unapparently diseased. But if to this baseness of discoveries, other injustice be also added ; if malice prefer them, if sleight increase them, if falshood and slander taint them : then do they not onely abase men from the

dignity of their nature, but even associate them with the foul enemy and calumniator thereof, whose name is the slanderous Accuser of his Brethren. I suppose there was never man so patient in the World, (that pattern of all perfection our blessed Saviour excepted) but if a man should heap together all the chollerick Speeches, all the way-ward Actions, that ever escaped from him in his life, and present them in one view, all continue together, (as is the fashion of some men) it would represent him for a furious and raving Bedlam; whom displaying all his life in the same tenor it was led, the whole World might well admire for his courtesie, staidness, moderation and magnanimity. They that observe nothing in wise men but their over-sights and follies, nothing in men of vertue but their faults and imperfections, from which neither the wisest nor the perfectest have been free: what do they but propose them as matter of scorn and abhorring, whom God having endued with principal graces, hath marked out for very patterns of honour to imitate. Yea, this Age hath brought out those curst and thrice accursed wits, who by culling out the errors and shews of errors, by formalizing the contrarieties; mis-interpreting the ambiguity, intangling more the obscurities, which in the most renowned Authors for humane wisdom that were ever in the World their envious and malicious fine brains could search; (imitating him therein, who by his labours of the very same nature, though with less
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and no ground at all, against the sacred Bible, purchased the infamous name of the Enemy of Christianity) have done that hurt unto the studies of Learning, which nothing but utter extinguishing of their unlearned Works can expiate. But of this matter sufficient.

Of their Histories and Martyrologies.

The last means I will here speak of, that were used in setting forward the Reformation of Religion, was the diligent compiling of the Histories of those Times and Actions, and especially the Martyrologies of such as rendred by their deaths a testimony to that truth which was persecuted in them. These memories and stories presenting generally to the World, the singleness and innocency of the one part, the integrity of their lives, the simplicity of their devises, the zeal of their desires, their constancies in temptations, their tolerancy in torments, their magnanimous and celestial inspired courage and comfort in their very Agonies and Deaths, yielding their bodies with all patience to the furious Flames, and their Souls with all joy into the hands of him that made them: On the other side, representing a serpentine Generation, wholly made of Fraud, of Policies and Practices, men lovers of the World, and haters of Truth and Godliness; Fighters against the Light, Protectors of Darknes, Persecutors of Marriage, and Patrons of Brothels, Abrogators

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and Dispensers against the Laws of God, but tyrannous Importuners and Exacters of their own; men false in their Promises, treacherous in their Pretences, barbarous in their Executions, breathing nothing but Cruelty, but Fire and Sword against men that had not offended them, save in their desire to amend them, which could not endure; (and much of this set out in sundry places with Pictures also, to imprint thereby a more lively sense of commiseration of the one part, and detestation of the other) did breed in mens minds a very strong conceit, that on the one side Truth and Innocence was persecuted, on the other side violence and deceit did persecute; that the one part contrary to all humane probability, being nourished with the only dew of Divine Benediction, did flourish in the Flames, and like Camomile, spread abroad by being trod under foot; the other notwithstanding all humane and infernal succours and deviles, yet being cursed from above, did fade, and would come to ruine. The Papacy being nettled extremely by these proceedings, hath resolved first to give over the kindling any more of those unfortunate Fires, (save in places of security to keep that law in usage) the ashes of which they have perceived to have been the seed of their Adversaries: but rather by secret makings of men away in their Inquisitions (for which purpose as some of their own Friends in *Italy* have reported, whether truly or falsely, I am not able to affirm) they have their trap-doors or pit-falls in dark melan-

melancholy Chambers, or such other devices perhaps, and chiefly by general Massacres to extinguish them. Then to affront them in the same kind of Martyrologies and Histories, they have first caused sundry new Fryerly stories to be written also in their favour: making in them a representation of Authority and Justice proceeding by politick execution of law in the necessary defence of Gods Church and Priests, and of Catholick States and Princes, against a company of base Rebels and vow-breaking Fryers, of Church-robbing Politicians and Church razing Souldiers; of infected and infecting both Schismaticks and Hereticks, Innovators of Orders, Underminers of Government, Troublers of States, Overturners of Christendome: against whom, if they have not hitherto sufficiently prevailed, it is to be attributed onely to the force of Popular fury, and not to any strength and goodness of their cause, much less to any Cœlestial and Divine protection. Next for Martyrologies, they have *England* for their Field, to triumph in: the proceedings wherein against their later Priests and Complices they aggravate to the height of *Neros* and *Dioclesians* Persecutions, and the Sufferers of their Side, in merits of cause, in extremity of torments, and in constancy of patience, to the renowned Martyrs of that heroical Church-age. Whereof, besides sundry other Treatises and Pamphlets, they have published a great Volume lately to the World in *Italian*, compiled with great industry, approved

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by Authority, (yea some of their Books or passages illustrated also with Pictures :) in summe, wanting nothing save onely Truth and Sincerity.

An easie thing it is without growing to the extreme impudency of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other; by enforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are in our favour, and by elevating and disgracing of all the contrary; by sprinkling the terms of Honour wholly on the one part, of hatred and Ignominy on the other; to make the tale turn which way shall please the teller. But Writers of Histories should know, that there is a difference between their Profession and the practise of Advocates, pleading contrary at a Bar, where the wisdom of the Judge picketh the truth out of both sides, which is entire perhaps in neither. And verily in this kind both the Protestants and Papists seem generally in the greatest part of their Stories, both to blame, though both not equally, having by their passionate Reports much wronged the Truth, abused this present Age, and prejudiced Posterity: insomuch that the only remedy now seeming to remain, is to read indifferently the stories on both parts, to compt them as Advocates, and to play the Judge between them. But partiality seems to have been the chief fault of the Protestant, love and dislike sometime dazeling his eyes, and drawing him from an Historiographers into an Orators profession; though some of them have carried themselves therein with commendable

mendable sincerity; even as some also of the other part have discharged themselves nobly. But surely the Priests and Fryers which have medled in that kind, have strangely behaved themselves, and disclosed how small reckoning they make of truth in any thing; their devising, their forging, their facing, their peeing, their adding, their parting, having brought not onely their modesty, but their wits also in question, whether they forgot not what it was which they undertook to write; a work of Story, or of Poetry rather; which Arts though like, yet ought they to know are different.

And for these Martyrologies, to speak of *England* as they do, (let the truth of Religion lie indifferent on whether side;) unless difference be made between men who suffer for their Conscience onely, their very Adversaries having no other Crime to object against them; and those who either in their own particular persons, or at leastwise in their Directors, whom they have chosen to follow, and vowed to obey; are convinced to have attempted against the Prince and State, and to have practised the alteration and ruine of both; if no difference be to be made between those mens sufferings; let all be like, let the persecuting of Sheep and hunting of Wolves be one. But enough and too much perhaps of these comparisons and imitations.

amongst many acts worthy
had chased away the Ministers; yet and executed
of them, considering their Goods, and be-
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Of the Policy of Papal News.

I will add onely hereto their Policy of News, for some kind of resemblance it hath with the former. I must confess it could not settle in my conceit of a long time, that men of their wisdom, so well furnished with better means, should descend to that base and vain devise of inventing and spreading of false News in their favour; being an odious kind of abusing the World, and such also as in the end coming to be checked with the truth, redounds to the deep disgrace and discredit of the Authors; being accounted no other than the trick of a Bankrupt.

Howbeit finding by experience that this, frequent among them in other places, at Rome above all other was a most ordinary practise; from whence during the time of my abode in Italy, besides other less memorable, there came first solemn News, that the Patriarch of Alexandria with all the Greek Church of Africa had by their Ambassadors submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and received from his Holiness Absolution and Benediction; there being no such matter as I learned afterward of a Greek Bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that Patriarch: Another time, that the King of Scots, amongst many acts worthy of a Christian Prince, had chased away the Ministers; yea, and executed two of them, confiscating their Goods, and be-

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flowing them upon the Catholicks: which News was soon after recalled from the same place. Not long after, that *Beza* the Arch-heretick, *Calvins* Successor, drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at *Geneva* recanted his Religion, exhorting them, if they had care to save their Souls, to seek reconciliation with the Catholick-Church, and to send for the Jesuits to instruct them, whereupon both himself, by special Order from the Pope, was absolved by the Bishop of *Geneva*, ere he dyed; and the City had sent to *Rome* an Ambassage of submission: a beginning of which News it was my chance to hear (as being whispered among the Jesuits) two moneths ere it brake out; but when it was once advertised so solemnly from *Rome*, it ran over all Christendom, and in *Italy* was so verily believed to be true, that there were, as is said, who rode on very purpose to see those Ambassadors of *Geneva*, yet invisible: and to make up the full measure of that noble Policy, I being afterwards at *Lyon*, and understanding that the Post of *Rome* there then passing for *Spain*, gave confidently out, that he left the Queen of *England*s Ambassadors at *Rome*, making great instance for agreement and amity with his Holiness, and to have her re-catholized and absolved; (news as to me then seemed, cut out purposely for *Spain*, and to console their Favourers and afflicted Adherents;) Finding also by the observation and judgment of some wise men, that the Jesuits are Masters of that worthy Mintage, and that all these

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Chymical Coins are of their stamp? yea, and that their glorious News of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers, of their Society, in converting the *Indies* are not thought much truer; And lastly, perceiving that the Doctrine of all that side in their cases of Conscience, making it lawful for them to equivocate with their Adversaries in their Answers, though given upon their Oaths, whenever their Lives or Liberties are touched; yet the Jesuits are noted by some of their own friends, to be too hardy Equivocators, and their equivocations too hard: (whereof they give example) of a Jesuit who instructed a Maid-Servant in *England* that if she were examined whether she knew of any Priest resorting to her Masters house, she should swear, if she were put to it, that she knew not of any; which she might do lawfully with this secret intent, that she knew not of any, *viz.* with purpose to disclose them; though other defend this as a point of allowable wisdom.

All these things considered, it hath made me to mitigate my former imagination, and to deem it not impossible; that this over-politick and too wise Order may reach a note higher than our gross conceits, who think honesty the best policy, and truth the onely durable armor of proof; and may find by their refined Observations of experience, that news make their impression upon their first reporting, and that then if they be good, they greatly raise up the spirits, and confirm the minds, especially of the Vulgar, who easily believe all that

that their Betters tell them; that afterward when they happen to be controlled, mens spirits being cold, are not so sensible as before, and either little regard it, or impute it to common error and uncertainty of things; yea and that the good news cometh to many mens ears, who never hear of the check it hath. And at least-wise it may serve their turn for some present exploit, as Merchants do by their news, (whether imitators or imitated of these men, I know not) who finding some difficulty in accommodating their Affairs, have in use to forge Letters, or otherwise to raise bruits either of some prosperous success in their Princes actions (as our men they say at *Constantinople*) or of some great alteration in some kind of Merchandize (as certain not long since have done at *Paris*) which may serve for that present instant to expedite their business.

Yet surely methinks these learned Fathers should consider, that though Lying be held for a necessary fault in Merchants (if any fault be necessary, which for my part, I hold not) yet can it not be admitted an allowable policy for Divines, being the offspring of that Arch enemy of the Deity and Divinity. And if, as a dead Elie doth vitiate a whole Box of sweet Ointment; so a little folly may blemish greatly a very wise man, and some fallhood discredit withal the delivery of much truth; then verily will I be bold to crave leave at their hands, if admiring them in the rest of their super-subtil Inventions; I arrange this among the poor

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Of their utter Breach.

Now these being the weapons wherewith they fight against their Adversaries, they whetten them by framing an **utter Breach** or separation in all religious duties between their party and their opposites, not only in such points as wherein they dissent (which is the part of all men that list not to wound their own Consciences) neither yet of all Ecclesiastical duties alone; (which sundry other Churches ancient and modern have done, and still do, as thinking that the good things which Hereticks retain, are vitiated by those bad, wherewith either their Faiths or Functions are stained, (though perhaps there be a dram more of zeal than Charity in the ingredients of that Canon, unless the Heresie be capital, and directly epposite to the Glory of God or Honour of our Saviour) but the Church of *Rome* at this day in their more usual practice hath so strained that string, as to stretch it out even to all divine duties whatsoever, though not Ecclesiastical, but performed by private persons, and in severall, as occasion serves, neither to such only as the Faith hath revealed unto us Christians; but even those which the light of Nature hath taught all men in the world, yea Pagans and Barbarians, as yielding Glory to God, imploring his aid and favour, rendring him thanks for his

his benefits; in none of which actions do they willingly join with the Protestants; being so thought not publickly and universally commanded by the Sovereign Lord and Law of their Church, yet counselled (as the effect doth shew) in private by their particular Instructors, Directors and Confessors. If a Protestant begin to settle himself to pray with that Prayer which the lips of our Saviour have sanctified and taught, it is now so polluted by passing through his lips, that a Roman Catholick will hardly stay in the room. If he use that voice which all the Creatures of God in their several languages do daily sound forth, and say *God be praised, or Glory to the highest*, the *Romanist* alone is silent, and will not join his assent. If at meat he yield thanks unto God for his blessings, he it but with *Deo gratias*, which was ever in *S. Augustine's* mouth; though this chase not the Catholick away from his Dinner (which were to his loss) neither make they it simply unlawful to add his *Amen*; yet commonly and more willingly he doth forbear it, where he may securely do so without farther offence.

On the contrary side a *Roman-Catholick* will not easily say *Grace*, though it be at his own table, when a Protestant is present; thinking better to leave God unserved, than that a Protestant join in serving him. Though the custom of giving God thanks at Meals is generally among those Catholicks grown clean out of use both in *France* and *Italy*, for ought I could see; as not knowing that

that a Popes pardon is gained by the use of Grace Cups.

In sum, they are more averse to join with the Protestant in doing honour to God, than with the very bruit-beasts; if beasts by proper speech could sound forth Gods praise, as the Legends of their Saints in their favour do fancy. Wherein how religiously they have proceeded for the amplifying and advancing of Gods Service, that God doth know: how charitably towards their neighbours, that themselves do know: how politickly for the strengthening of their own party among their enemies, that the world may know by these few considerations.

First, by this course, they keep their lay followers in a perpetual dark ignorance of the Protestants Faith and Religion; having made it an high degree of deadly sin, either to read their books, or to hear their Sermons, or to be present at their Service, or almost any way to communicate with them in Religious duties whatsoever. Whereby whatsoever their lay-multitude conceiveth of the Reformed Religion or of the points of Doctrine which therein are taught, is that only which the enemies thereof do tell them: who report it according to the distast of their own stomachs, and as may represent it in most odious and hideous form to the hearers: so that now no more marvail (which experience doth teach) that seldom or never a lay-Roman-Catholick can be found that conceiveth rightly of any almost of the Protestants positions:

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sith seldom or never was Roman-Priest yet to be shewn, that hath not falsified and depraved them utterly in reporting them. Whereas if those lay-Catholicks should once open their ears to know the Protestants opinions from themselves that hold them, which was the use of the old world in their ingenuous simplicity and singleness of proceeding: they would not be found either so absurd perhaps, but that a reasonable, or so wicked, but that a religious mind might embrace them.

Then secondly, by this means they do knit their own faction more fast together, and unite them more firmly to the Head thereof the Pope; sith no service of God but in his communion, & with him no conjunction without utter separation and estranging from his enemies. Whereas if his party should but join with the Protestants in such services of God as are allowed by both; this concurring with them in some actions, might abate that utter dislike which they have now of their whole way; yea and haply taking a liking of them in some things, they might be drawn still on by degrees to other, and so finally slip away, or grow cold in their first affections. For factions as by disparity of minds they are raised, so by strangeness they are continued and grow immortal: whereas contrariwise they are allaked and made calm by intercourse, by parly they are reconciled, by familiarity they are extinguished. A memorable example of the virtue of this policy, our own Countrey in these latter times hath yielded:

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wherein

where in the first Reformation under King *Edward*, the Prelates and Clergy, having before, under King *Henry* disear'd the Pope, did easily join with the Protestants, though not in their Opinions; yet in the publick Service of God in the Churches, being indifferently composed and offensive to neither part. And but that the Pope soon after upon extraordinary cause was restored to his former authority by Queen *Mary*; that Faction had in likelihood been long since ended. But after that the Pope was once again admitted, and had liberty to temper with his party at pleasure, in the second Reformation, by her Majesty, not a Bishop of his could be perswaded to come to our Churches, but chusing rather loss of Living, and the greatest part also imprisonment, they laid thereby the foundation of that Faction of Recusants, which hath since been continued by their Followers unto this day, notwithstanding our Service be less offensive to them than in King *Edwards* time, and in no part opposite to any point of their Belief. But so hath it seemed good to their politick Governours, by this utter Breach and alienation to preserve and perpetuate the Remains of their Party; and that in the midst of their much more potent Adversaries, though armed with Laws, quickned with suspicions, yea and exasperated by their often dangerous practises against them. Now in that they proceed also yet one step farther, and not only inhibit their party the reading of Protestant Books,

Books, and repair to their Churches, but dis-
counsel also all joining with them in any Service
of God, by whomsoever, and how lawful sort soe-
ver performed: thereby do they ingender in them
(according to their desire) an extream hatred and
bitter detestation of their Opposites. For if the
Protestants by reason of their enmity with the
Pope, and swerving from his way, do stand in
terms of so deep disfavour with God, that their
Prayer it self doth turn into sin; that their hum-
ble thanksgivings are abominable presumptions;
to join with them in praising the Creator of the
world, is no better than disservice to his Majesty;
then surely wo worth the hour wherein they
were born, and blessed be that hand which
shall work their bane and ruine; then no stay
or doubt but what the Pope directeth, that boldly
to be executed against the enemies of God. And
this have they set up as a Crown and accomplish-
ment to the rest of their practises, against their
Adversaries. For now is their Faction not only
kept on foot, and continually maintained with-
out decay, but inflamed also with such hatred of
their enemies, that they are ready to any violence
that opportunity can advise.

For as diversities of judgments doth grow into
dislikes, and dislikes by opposition do issue into fa-
ctions; so hatred in factions doth break out into
seditions, and attendeth only advantage to
use force against those they hate. Whereas on
the contrary side, the Protestant being not arm-

ed nor quickned up with such stings of hatred as his adversaries, is more cold and careless in his opposite desires, and exceedingly inferiour in all strong attempts and practices. But certainly howsoever in this crafty kind of policies, which hath too much bewitched the wits of this age; & doth too much tyrannize over that ancient true wisdom wherewith the world in fore-times was more happily governed; these courses may seem very fine and effectual for the atchieving of that end whereto they are framed: yet I suppose it would prove very hard to be shewn, how they can stand with the Principles and Rules of that Religion, whose root is Truth; whose branches are Charity; whose fruits are good deeds, extending and even offering themselves with chearfulness unto all men, to the encouraging of friends, and reclaiming of enemies, to the mending of the worse, and accomplishing of the better. For if a magnanimous and noble mind in the high vertuousness thereof do carry it self in all actions with such moderation and measure, as that it neither hate his enemy so much in regard of his wickedness, but that it love whatsoever in him hath resemblance of virtue; neither yet fear him so much for his mischievous desires, as to rage and grow fierce upon him in his weakness; but contenteth it self so far forth only to repress him, as may disable him thenceforward from doing hurt unto others: how much more may it seem reasonable, that the heavenly affection of a Christian rejoyce for whatsoever

ever

ever goodness appears in any man, as finding there some lineaments of his Creators Image; detest nothing but impiety and wickedness, the worlds dishonour; and lastly, in the true and serious worshipping of God, do join when occasion offers, with whatsoever of his Creatures, with united affections to chear up his service, where scandal by shew of approving that which is evil in them doth not hinder. But this world in the baseness of his metal, now the last and worst, and in the weakness of his old and decayed years, laying the ground of all his policy in fear and jealousy, issuing from a certain consciousness of his own worthlessness & want of virtue; holdeth those courses for the best, which work with the greatest and most secret advantage against such as either are, or in time may become concurrents or enemies; letting pass with some terms of formal commendation those ancient more noble waies, which being derived from the high Governour of both the Worlds, and having their ground on the unmoveable principles of true wisdom and virtue, must needs be of greater force, both for the upholding of those that hold them, and for the effecting of all their worthy and honourable desires, were there a firm mind to pursue them, and a strong arm to wield them, both which to this weak world are wanting. But of these matters sufficient.

*Of their excluding of all access of the Religion
lib allow and of their Inquisition.*

It is now time that I come to the view of those means which are used by the Papacy for the **ex-
cluding of all access** and **found of the Religion**, in those places where their power remaineth yet unabridged. Wherein, as in other like cases before, I will lightly pass over that which is apparent to all eyes: and that is, what service their **Inquisition** doth therein; being in truth the principal and most forcible engine in accomplishing that work; and such, as wheresoever it, and the Council of **Trent** can be thoroughly planted and established, as in **Spain** and all **Italy** now, save only some part perhaps of the Kingdom of **Naples**, where the tyranny of **Spain** may be Inquisition sufficient, (as the Inquisition of **Spain** is also of the two the cruellest) doth rid them of fear, and their Adversaries of hope, of letting in the Reformation; unless perhaps in some universal deluge of war, when the execution of Laws, and such searches shall be forced to cease. For this Inquisition, as a Sovereign preservative, and defective of no virtue, save Justice and Mercy, being committed lightly to the most zealous, industrious and religious Friars that can be found in all places, who leave no one Rule thereof unpractised; taking hold of men for the least suspicion of Heresie or of affinity or connivence with Heresie that may be, as the bare

bare reproving sometimes the lives of their Clergy, or the having of any Book or Edition prohibited (though yet with some regard of the nature and quality of persons, seeing many a man makes those Actions suspicious, which otherwise would not make the man) discovering men by the pressing of all mens Consciences, whom they charge under an high degree of mortal sin and damnation (being a case reserved, and wherein not any under an Arch-Bishop or Bishop can absolve them, as I have seen in their printed Instructions at **Sienna**) to appeach even their nearest and dearest friends, if they know, or but suspect them to be culpable therein; proceeding against the detected with such secrecy and severity, as that first they shall never have notice of their accusers, but shall be urged to reveal their very thoughts and affections: Secondly, if by long enquiry they be taken tardy in any one thing delivered in their examinations, or can be convicted thereof by any two witnesses of how base or indifferent quality soever, without farther reply they are cast & gone; thirdly, if nothing fall out to be proved against them, yet will they hold them in their **Holy house** divers years sometimes, in great anguish and misery, for a terror to other, and for their exacter trial; and lastly, besides all their tortures and scorns, if one be touched the second time, nothing but death without remission: this being the diligence, this the violence of their Inquisition, it doth so sweep all quarters and corners where it walketh, that as a
sheer.

sheering wind it kills all in the bud, no wit nor provision being possible to avoid it. Yea it is such a bridle to the very freedom of mind and liberty of speech, which they of their own way would otherwise use; and is converted in some places to such an instrument no less of Civil than Ecclesiastical tyranny: that as *Naples* and *Millain* did a while vehemently withstand it, and *Spain* would with the dearest things they have redeem it; so most of their most zealous Catholicks elsewhere, which would die perhaps, if need so were, for their Religion, yet abhor the very name and mention of the Inquisition, as being the great slavery that ever yet the world hath tasted. And the *Venetians* themselves could never yet be brought to admit it in other sort, than with certain very favourable exceptions for strangers (who are generally also in *Italy* little searched into for their Consciences, by reason of the gain which comes by their repair, but may pass well enough if they give no scandal) and with retaining the sovereign sway thereof in their own hands at all times.

But to let this wreck of mens souls thus rest, as an invention fitter for the Religion of *Antiochus* and *Domitian*, or for *Mahomet's Alcoran*, than for the clemency of his Gospel who was Prince of mildness and mercy: It is a wonderful thing to see what curious order and diligence they use, to suffer nothing to be done or spring up among themselves, which may any way give footing to the Religion which they so much hate.

Of their Locking up the Scriptures.

And first for the ~~Scriptures~~ *Scriptures*, forasmuch as the Reformation seems grounded upon them, the Reformers having striven to square it out wholly and only by that rule, as far forth as their understanding and wits could wade; and forasmuch as it is a thing which the *Romanists* deny not, that a great part of their Religion hath other foundation; and would seem in many points to swerve much, yea and plainly to cros the Scriptures, as an ordinary Reader by his meer natural wit, not fashioned by their distinctions, nor directed by their Glosses, would expound it: for this cause though heretofore to stop their Adversaries mouths, alwaies yelping and crying with hateful sounds, that they would not let the poor people hear their Creator speak to them, that they starved and murdered their Souls in ignorance, robbing them of the Bread of Life, the voice of Christ, and cramming and choaking them with their empty Superstitions, their paysoned Idolatry; that the Scriptures would shew them that their worshiping of blind Images was a thing detested, and even with threats prohibited in the Law of God; their praying in unknown Language and by tale, plainly reproved; their invoking and vowing to Saints a matter there never heard of; that their Ceremonies were vanities, their traffick for Souls very Sacriledge, their miracles delusions, their

their Indulgences blasphemies; that it would discover their **Church** to be a body strangely infected and polluted with all foul and pestilent diseases; and finally that their not erring and not controllable **Lord of Rome** was no other than that impetuous bewitching **Lady of Babylon**: though I say as well to beat back these irksome outcries of their Adversaries, as also to give some content and satisfaction to their own, that they might not think themselves terribly afraid of the Bible, they were content to let it be translated by some of their favourers into the vulgar, as also some number of Copies to be saleable a while at the beginning; yet since having hushed that former clamour, and made better provision for the establishing of their Kingdom, they have called all vulgar Bibles straightly in again (yet the very Psalms of David which their famous Preacher, Bishop *Panigarola* translated) as doubting else the unavoidableness of those former inconveniences.

To let pass those hard contents which they breed in the multitude, as touching the inextricable obscurity of the Scripture, the easiness to mistake it, the dangerousness to err by it: having raised in some places such base and blasphemous Proverbs concerning it, as for my part I had rather themselves would extinguish them, than that I list to give them life by recording them in this place, Neither yet in their very Sermons, though they preach alwaies in a manner on the Gospel of the Day, do they read or any other

waies

waies recite the Text ; but discourse only on such points of it as they think fittest, without more solemnity ; that no sound of Scripture may possess the people : although the use of France be otherwise for that matter : yea some parts of Scripture, as Saint Pauls Epistles, they are so jealous of, and think so dangerous, that by report of divers, (for my self did not hear it) some of their Jesuits of late in Italy in solemn Sermon, and other their favorites elsewhere in private communication, commending between them Saint Peter for a worthy Spirit, have censured Saint Paul for a hot-headed person, who was transported so with his pangs of zeal and eagerness beyond all compass in sundry his disputes, that there was no great reckoning to be made of his Assertions ; yea he was dangerous to read as shewing of heresie in some places, and better he had not written of those matters at all. Agreeable to which I have heard other of their Catholicks deliver, that it hath been heretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some means and reformed the writings of Saint Paul : though for my own part I must profess I can hardly believe this, as being an attempt too too abominable and blasphemous, and for these times also too desperate a scandal. But howsoever, he of all other is least beholden to them : whom of mine own knowledge and hearing, some of them teach in Pulpits, not to have been secure of his preaching but by conference with Saint Peter and other of the Apostles ; nor that he

he durst publish his Epistles till they had allowed them. These orders have they taken to avoid danger from the written word: advancing instead thereof the amplitude, the sufficiency, and the unfallible certainty of Gods Oracles and Word not written, but delivered to the custody of his holy Church by speech only: which Church hath now fully also delivered her mind in the late Council of *Trent*; whereto all that are solemnly doctored in *Italy* must subscribe.

Of their concealing the Doctrines and Opinions of the Reformation.

And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scripture, so much more in the Edifice it self the **Doctrine and Opinions**, they beat away all Sound and Echo of them: being not lawful there to alledge them, no not to glance at them; not to argue and dispute of them, no not to refute them. In ordinary communication to talk of matter of Religion, is odious and suspicious; but to enter into any reasoning though but for argument sake without other scandal, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to be half threatned for no other fault than for debating with a *Jew* and upholding the truth of Christianity against him: so unlawful are all disputes of Religion whatsoever. And their *Friers*, even in *France* in their endeavours to convert others, will say it is lawful to perswade them,

but not so to dispute of them. But in *Italy* this is much more exactly observed: where in their Divinity Disputations in their Universities or Colleges, (as some such Disputations they have, but very sleight and unfrequent;) I could not perceive that they ever debated any question at this day controverted, otherwise than (as ever) among themselves and between their School-men. And which was more strange to me till I founded the Reason; in no place of *Italy* where ever I came, could I hear any of their Preachers treat of any Point in question between them and the Protestants, save only at *Padua*; where, in respect there are alwayes divers hundreds of strangers of the adverse Party, it is otherwise practised, and I weene advised.

But in all other places for ought I could perceive; either they mention now no Adversaries; or if they do, which is very seldome, yet do they not unfold their Opinions and Arguments, but either frame other Chimæra's of their own instead of them, and so flourish a bout or two in canvassing their own shadows, as is usual in *France* also; or else dispatch them away with certain general Reproaches, and then (as I have heard some of them) will formally conclude; but what do I name Hereticks in an Assembly of Catholics? Howbeit they are not so forgetfull and careless of their good cross Neighbours, as this Course might seem at the first blush to import: but those Offices they do, they do them to the best
K purpose;

purpose; teaching the people sometimes in Pulpit, but much more in private Conferences and in their Confessions, that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* are blasphemers of God and all his Saints, and above all other that they despise and vilifie our Lady, saying plainly, she was no better than one of their own Wives; that they abolish the Church-Sacraments, the onely means of Salvation; that where-ever they come, they either raze or rob Churches, and make Stables of them; that there is no kind of villany, which is not currant among them; that in *England*, they have neither Churches nor form of Religion, nor serve God any way; that the *English* Nation, since their falling away from the Church is grown so barbarous, that their Souldiers are very Cannibals, and eat young Children. But that above all other places *Geneva*, is a very professed Sanctuary of Roguery, giving harbour to all the Runagates, Traitors, Rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countreies. By which speech, very generally in *Italy* spread and believed, some memorable accidents have at some times happened. Sundry of their priggish and loose Friers, hearing of *Geneva* to be such an holy place of Good-fellowship, and thinking the lewder Pranks they play'd with their owniers they came thither to find the better welcome at their coming, have robbed their Convents of their Church Plate and Repositories, and brought away the Bootie in triumph to *Geneva*, under the changeable colours of Reformed Religion: where they

advance

advancement hath been straight to the Gibbet for their labour: a Reward much unexpected, and such as caused them to complain pitifully of their wrong Information; For such is the extraordinary severity of that Citie, as to punish Crimes committed without their State, with no whit less rigour than as if they had been done within it. And not many years since it was the Lot of a *Spanish* Gallant, who stood upon his State, and carried a Mint about him, to repair thither, to have Stamps made him for the coining of Pistols. His defence was, that he understood their City was free, and gave receipt to all Offenders. It was told him that it was true, that they received all Offenders; but withall, when they were come, they punished their Offences. A distinction which the good Gentleman had never before studied; and the learning of it then cost him no less than his Head-piece.

And as by these kind of slanders, so also the more to harden mens minds against them, they will tell of strange miracles that have befallen them. A Point wherewith the Pulpits of *France* also do ring daily: where in the Siege of *Paris*, they were grown to that audaciousness, as to perswade the people there, who generally believed it, that the Thunder of the Popes Excommunications had so blasted the Hereticks, that their faces were grown black and ugly as Devils, their Eyes and Looks ghastly, their Breaths noisom and pestilent. Much like to one of the *servi di Madonna* at *Bolonia*, whom

whom I heard in Pulpit among a multitude of modern miracles, which had fallen out to their punishment who were excommunicated, (the continuing wherein a year, without seeking absolution, incur suspicion of Heresie ;) tell this also of an heretical Gentleman of *Polonia*: Who talking at a solemn Dinner against the Pope, the Bread on his Trencher grew black as Ink, and upon his repentance and conversion, returned to its former whiteness. A thing hapned but lately, and reported by the *Polonish* Ambassadour to a Cardinal, by the Cardinal to a Bishop, by the Bishop to this Frier: An imitation perhaps of that renowned Miracle of eating Tables for hunger, threatned by that winged Prophetess, with like deduction of credit.

*Quæ Phæbo pater omnipotens, mihi Phæbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

And these things are instead of refuting the Protestants Religion: which are not in vain.

For the vulgar sort, who believe, as they say, in God and the Pope, think all to be Gospel that their Friers tell them. And I have heard some conjecture at others to be *Lutherans*, only by reason they were so monstrous blasphemers as they were. But all are not of that stamp: those Gentlemen, and other who have travelled abroad; and those also at home, that are not passionately blind, but discreet & inquisitive of the truth of all things; howsoever dissenting from them, yet have no such hard conceit

conceit of the Protestants Opinions or Actions. But the most strange thing as to me, it seemed of all other, is, that those principal Writers, who have employed themselves wholly in refuting from point to point, the Protestants Doctrine, and Arguments, are so rare in *Italy*, as by ordinary enquiry, I believe not to be found.

The Controversies of Cardinal *Bellarmino* I sought for in *Venice*, in all places. Neither that, nor *Gregory of Valenza*, nor any of such quality could I ever in any shop of *Italy*, set an eye on: but instead of them, an infinite of meer invectives, and declamationis. Which made me entertain this suspicious conjecture, that it might be their care, that no part of the Protestants Positions and Allegations, should be known they were so exact, as to make discurrent in some sort, even those very Books, which were constrained to recite them, that they might refute them, in such wise, as not to suffer them to be commonly salable, but only to such, or in such places, as the Superiours should think meet. But the truth of this Conjecture, I leave to farther enquiry.

The conclusion is this: No sound of the reformed Religion, either stirring in *Italy*, or by any humane wit now possible to be raised. For, to bring in from forreign places any Heretical Writing, though it were without malice, were two years straight imprisonment, as they say, if he so escaped. So far are they from their Adversaries, either simplicity, if their cause be bad; or honesty, if good:

who not only in most of their Replies print both together, to give means of indifferency in judging to the Reader; but even permit their Adversaries yet unanswered Disputes to run currant among them, so they be in the Latine, and not purposely written, as some are, to misdraw the multitude. It remaineth now to restrain the *Italians* from going abroad to foreign Countries, where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. Herein the nature of the *Italian* doth supply: who wonders at us *English-men* that come travelling so far thither, himself having no humour to stir one foot abroad; and indeed little needing, considering how all Nations of Christendom do flock to him. But not so for Merchants, these fly abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in wealth where-ever they come over-top all other; such is their Skill, their Wit, their Industry, their Parsimony. Behold then this Popes late exploit also for that point. He hath by his printed Bull under pain of Excommunication, forbidden them all repair for Traffick to Heretical Countries: Whereupon some as I hear are retired from *England*, and other in other places are said to have importuned and obtained some out-Chappel to have their Mass in. Thus hath every gap his bulle, each suspicion his prevention.

One thing only remaineth as Garland to all the rest. It were an hard state and a tyrannical, where the Superiours should assume to themselves all license of doing, and not permit to the Inferiours at least-

least-wise liberty of speaking; which is but a slender revenge for so great a wrong as ill Government; yet such as by giving vent to the boiling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate and aslake that heat, which otherwise would flame out into fury and mischief. For which cause the wisest men have been always best pleased, that others should have their words; and they who have endeavoured to bridle mens tongues by sharp laws, whom they rather should have charmed, and held in awe by their own integrity, have learned, that things violent are seldom permanent, and that the enjoying of too much patience makes men break into madness. Yea I have heard men of great experience and judgement say, that the best way to reconcile the Country enmities is to let the good men chide a while heartily together; and their stomachs being once disgorged, a peaceable motion will find good audience: so necessary are these evaporations to the minds of the multitude, which may serve for some justification of the wisdom of the Papacy in those former free times, when they did, and other said, what each humour advised. But little was it then feared, which since hath followed. Little was it imagined, that the time should come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Fryer, should look about so broadly, and search so narrowly all the plaits and hidden corners of the Papacy, what their Doctrine had been, what their Lives, what their Scopes, and what their Practices. Not so many of the consecrated di-

vine Patrons of the *Roman* State, with thousands of Prayers and Vowes, daily adored; nor so many of their enshrined and Miracle-working Images, to whom such store of Lamps, and pure Candles, were daily burning; so much Incense perfumed, so long and toylsome Pilgrimages performed, such abundance of Gifts and glad Offerings presented; on whom, lastly, so many, so devout, so humble, both bowed Knees, and hanging down Heads, and beaten Breasts, and lift up Eyes attended; did ever fore-tell so notable a Calamity.

It was not then thought that there would arise a generation, who would alledge in good earnest, that divers hundred of years since, as also more freshly, sundry of their own Authors and followers had in bitter detestation of their own monstrous abominations, described out the Pope for the Antichrist fore-prophefied; called Rome, the *Very Babylon* and *Temple of Heresies*, the corrupter of the *World*, the hate of *Heaven*, and in effect, the *high-way* and *very Gate of Hell*: That the lives of their Prelates, Priests, Friars, and Nuns, not for some particular Offences, which will alwaies befall, but for their ordinary tenour and courses of conversation, had been so reported by men of their own Religion, that an honest Adversary cannot read them without sorrow, nor a modest without shame and blushing; That the iniquity of their chief Sea hath been so exorbitant, as to have raised amidst themselves

this Proverb or saying, among many other concerning it, recorded in their own Books, That the most Christians of Italy are the Romans, of the Romans, the Priests are wickedest, the lewdest Priests are preferred to be Cardinals, and the baddest man among the Cardinals is chosen to be Pope. Neither was it then fore-seen, that the World entering into those considerations, would think that they had reason which called for a Reformation; and that it was not a fatal Calamity of this Age, but a supernatural Blessing of God from above, after the kindling of many precursory Lights of Knowledge, and furnishing other Instruments to do service therein, to direct a meer accident of scandal on their part, namely, the undiscerning proclaiming and sale of their Pardons, as the wisest and worthiest of their own Historiographers reporteth it, to the provoking of certain men of more zeal and courage, than policie or skill, in conducting their actions; who without any such premeditated intent, yea and drawn into the lists, and held in them against their will, by the violent pressing and insulting of their Adversaries; having been forced to sift thoroughly the Romish Doctrine and Practice, have discovered therein those Errors and Abuses, which it was high time to be purged and swept out of the Church: And that the establishing of this Reformation, how imperfect soever, to be done by so weak and simple means, yea by casual and cross means, against

the force of so puissant and politick an Adversary; is that miracle which in these times we are to look for; wherein it pleaseth God, whose goodness all times do speak out, to renew his high wisdom in guiding this untoward world by ordinarie courses; as in fore-times his power, by admiring therein his often extraordinary wonders. But the Papacie at this day taught by woful experience, what damage this license of writing among themselves hath done them; and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of their adversaries, but eye-sores, and stumbling blocks also to their remaining friends: under shew of **Purging** the world from the infection of all wicked and corrupt **Books** and passages, which are either against Religion or against honesty and good manners; for which two purposes they have then several Officers, who indeed do blot out much impietie and filth, and therein will deserve both to be commended and imitated, (Whereto the *Venetians* add also a third, to let nothing pass that may be justly offensive to Princes;) have in truth withall pared and lop't off whatsoever in a manner their watchful eyes could observe either free in disclosing their abuses and corruptions, or sawey in construing their drifts and practises, or dishonourable to the Clergie, or undutiful to the Papacy. These Editions only are authorized, all other disallowed; called in, consumed; with threats to whomsoever shall presume to keep them: that no speech, no writing, no evidence of times past, no discourse of things

things present be, in sum, nothing whatsoever may sound ought, but holiness, honour, purity, integrity to the unsported Spouse of Christ, and to his un-erring Vicar; to the Mistress of Churches, to the Father of Princes. But as it falleth out now and then, that wisdom and good fortune are to the ruine of them that too much follow them; by drawing men sometime, upon a presumption of their wit and cunning in contrivements, and of their good success withall in one attempt, to adventure upon another still, of yet more subtil invention, and more dangerous execution; which doth break in the end with the very fineness in self, and overwhelm them with the difficulties. So it is to be thought, that their prosperous success, in pruning and pluming those latter writers, effected with good ease and no very great clamour, as having some reason, and doing really some good; was it that did breed in them an higher conceit, that it was possible to work the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the Fathers themselves, and in all other monuments of royall and Antiquity, and the opinion of possibility redoubling their desire, brought forth in fine these *Indices expurgationis*; whereof I suppose they are now not a little ashamed, they having by misfortune light into their adversaries hands, from whom they desired by all means to conceal them; where they remain as a monument to the judgement of the world of their everlasting reproach and ignominy. These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts:
 some

some work not above eight hundred years upward: Other venture much higher, even to the prime of the Church: The effect is, That for as much, as there were so many passages in the Fathers, and other ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, which their adversaries producing in averment of their Opinions, they were not able but by tricks and shifts of wit to reply to; to ease themselves hence-forth in great part of that wit-labour; (a quality indeed, perhaps more commendable in some other Trade, than in Divinity, where verity should only sway, where the love of the truth should subject or extinguish wholly all other passions, and the eye of the mind fixed attentively upon that object, should disturn from the regarding of other motives whatsoever :) some Assemblies of their Divines, with consent no doubt of their redoubted Superiours and Sovereigns, have delivered expresse order, that in the Impressions of those Authors which hereafter should be made, the scandalous places there named, should be clean left out: which perhaps though in this present age, would have smally prevailed to the reclaiming of their Adversaries, yet would have been great assurance for the retaining their own, to whom no other Books must have been granted. Yea and perhaps time and industry, which eat even through marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former Editions, and for any New to be set out by their Adversaries, there is no great fear, whose Books being discurrent in all Catholick Countries,

Countries, their want of means requisite to utter an Impression, would dishearten them from the charge: the mouth of Antiquity should be thoroughly shut up from uttering any syllable or sound against them. Then lastly, by adding words where opportunity and pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginal notes and glosses of their Friers into the Text of the Fathers, as in some of them they have already very handsomely begun; the mouth of Antiquity should be also opened for them. There remained then only the rectifying of *S. Paul*, (whose turn in all likelihood if ever, should be the next,) and other places of Scripture, whose authority being set beneath the Churches already, it were no such great matter to submit it also to her gentle moderate Censures; especially for so good an intent, as the weeding out of Heresies, and the preserving of the Faith-Catholick in her purity and glory: But above all other the second Commandement, (as the Protestants, *Grecians* and *Jemes* reckon it,) were like to abide it: which already in their vulgar Catechisms is discarded, as words superfluous, or at leastwise as unfit or unnecessary for these times. And then without an Angel sent down from Heaven, no means to control or gain-say them in any thing. But these are but the dreams perhaps of some overpassionate desires, at leastwise not likely to take place in our times. But what is it which the opinions of the not possibility of erring, of the necessary assistance of Gods Spirit in their Consistories, of authority unlimited,

limited, of power both to dispense with Gods Law in this world, and to alter his Arrests and Judgements in the other, (for thereunto do their Pardons to them in Purgatory extend :) what is it which these so high and so fertile opinions are not able to engender, and do not powerfully enforce to execute? carrying men away head-long with this raging conceit, that whatsoever they do by the Popes, they do by Gods own Commandment, whose Lieutenant he is on Earth by a Commission of his own penning; that is to say, with absolute and unrestrained Jurisdiction; that whatsoever they do for advancement of his Sea and Scepter, they do it for the upholding of the Church of *Christ*, and for the salvation of mens Souls, which out of his obedience do undoubtedly perish. And verily it seems no causeless doubt of fear, that these humours and faces, so forward, so adventurous, to alter and chastise with palpable partiality, the works of former times, in an age which hath so many jealous eyes on their fingers, so many mouths open to publish their shame, such store of Coppies to restore and repair whatsoever they should presume to main or deprave: that in former ages, when there were few Coppies, small difficulties, no enemies; as it is found by certain and irrefragable Arguments, that many Bastard-writings were forged in their favour, and fathered on honest men who never begat them; So also they might beside other their choppings and changings, puttings in, and puttings out, suppress many good and

and ancient evidences, which they perceived were not greatly for their purpose to be extant. But of all other in reforming and purifying of Authors, the care and diligence of this Pope doth far exceed: who not content with that which hath been done in that kind before him, nor thinking things yet so bright as they should be, causeth much to be perused and scoured over a-new: yea and it is thought will cashier some worthy Authors, who as yet though with cuts and gashes hold rank among them, And for a farther terror not to retain Books prohibited: I have seen in their printed Instructions for Confession, the having or reading Books forbidden, set in rank amongst the sins against the first Commandment. And for farther provision, The Jewes (who have generally not any other Trades than Frippery and usury, Loan of Mony and old Stuff,) are inhibited in many places the meddling any more with Books, for fear lest through error or desire of lucre they might do them prejudice. Neither is it lawful in Italy, to carry Books about from one place to another, without allowance of them from the Inquisitours, or search by their Authorities. Wherein, as I confess, they have neglected nothing, which the wit of man in this kind could possibly devise: so yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw bloud with it, and soil more than before; so this too rigorous cutting of all Authors Tongues, leaving nothing which may savour any freedom of Spirit,

or

or give any satisfaction for understanding times past, may raise such a longing for the right Authors in the minds of all men, as may encourage the Protestants to reprint them in their first entireness, having hope given to vent them, although in secret. These have I observed for the complots and practises of the *Roman Church* and Papacie, not doubting but they may have many more, and much finer than I can dream of: And yet in the surveying of these altogether, me thinks they are such, and so essential in their proof, that it causeth me in generality of good desire to wish, that either the cause which they strive to maintain, were better, or their pollicies, whereby they maintain it, were not so good.

Of the present State of the Papacy, and their peculiar Actions

Now to take a brief view of the **Present State of the Papacy**, or rather of some Points therein more requisite to be known: First to consider it in his own proper and **Peculiar Dominions**, namely, in the Signiories and Territories which the Pope holds in *Italy*; for as for *Avignon*, with his **Country Genesine** in *France*, by reason of the ill Neighbourhood of the Protestants of *Orange*, it hath yielded him I ween in these latter times, no great matter; (yea rather it hath been an over-charge unto him; for which cause, they like well to be under the Pope, as bringing more
into

into them, than he taketh from them :) I take
 it at this day, of the four great States of *Italy*;
 by reason of the access to the Dukedom of *Ferrara*,
 escheated to him of late, to be clearly the
 third at least; and to surmount the great Dukes,
 which it hath well-nigh surrounded also. Yea ques-
 tion might be made concerning the second place,
 For although the *Venetians* in amplitude of Terri-
 tory far, and in greatness of revenue not a little
 exceed it: Yet beside other difficulties and charges
 of necessity to which they are more subject, in
 military force they greatly come short; the Popes
 men retaining still the brave hearts of their Ance-
 stors, and breeding among them plenty of able
 Leaders (whereof at this present both the great
 Duke and the *Venetians* do serve themselves)
 whereas the *Lombards*, wherein is the Flower of
 the State of *Venice*, are as heavy and unwarlike, as
 their soil is deep and fat; insomuch that the *Vene-
 tians* are driven to seek abroad, and especially to
 the *Grisons*, from whom they are to have at all
 times ten thousand at call. But on the contrary side
 being to be alledged, that the *Venetians* are by
 sea puissant where the Pope can do nothing, I sup-
 pose they may still hold the second place of great-
 ness the first even in *Italy* without other respect,
 being incomparable due unto the *Spanish* mighti-
 ness; and this in possession. Besides which, all *Italy*
 holding partly of the Pope, and partly of the Em-
 pire (save the Sign of *Venice*, who acknowledge no
 Lord) of the Pope, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Si-*

city with their dependants, the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Placentia* and *Urbino*, besides other lesser quarters of these, the Duchy of *Urbino* (no great thing, but full of stout men, and of some hundred thousand Crowns revenue) is in great possibility to devolve to the Church ere long; the Duke being in years, and without heirs, though as now unmarried; by his old wives decease of late; but the Jesuits labour hard that he so remain, perswading him that Bigamy is not so acceptable an estate to God. There is also possibility of the escheating of *Parma* and *Placentia*, there being but the young Duke (who remaineth still unmarried, being withstood, as is thought, in his long Love at *Florence*, both by Spain of old, and now by the Pope also, besides the great Dukes not hastiness to forge his Nieces portion) and the Cardinal *Farnese* his Brother, who in this case I believe should find as difficult a suit at *Rome* for dispensation to marry; as the Duke of *Ferrara* did before him, for a transport of his territory. Of *Naples* I can say nothing either of probability, or possibility, as things now stand. Only it is apparent that the Popes have a very great desire unto it, and opinion of good title also even in present. But the unfortunate success and fearful example of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* hath given a fresh stop and great check both to their desire and title. This *Sixtus Quintus* having of a simple Friar, been advanced to the Papacy by the favour of *Spain* only, which of long he had served; foreseeing very plainly in his changed

discourses the inevitable bondage, which together with all *Italy* the very Apostolick See and Lady-Church of the world, was in short time to fall into, if the greatness of his Preferer did grow as it began; whose irreligious encroachment upon the Church-rights, whose tyrannous importuning them to serve his turns and humours, whose bravadoes, threats, insolencies, and Lording over them; his eyes did see daily, and could not remedies constrained by these eminent dangers and present indignities, adventured to revive and harbour in his mind the afflicted and forsaken thoughts of *Paulus Quartus* his predecessor, and to embrace a design of chasing the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, and especially of recovering the Realm of *Naples* to the Church; which hath now but a quit rent of four thousand Crowns out of it, (sent to them upon an Hackney) being one of the richest plots that is in the world. For the effecting of which, purpose by enhauncing his Imports of all Commodities, after the example of other Princes and States, and his Neighbours, and by other Devices, together with good management, in short time he raised five Millions of Treasure; a good ground of war: and moreover after the example of the same *Paulus Quartus*, who brought into very *Rome* it self two thousand *German Lutherans* to oppose against the Duke of *Alba*, King *Philips* General in *Italy*, yea and was content to endure quietly those Abuses and Despites which they daily offered to his

Images, and Sacrament, and sundry other devotions, as remaineth in a report of credit not to except against; so that *Sixtus* began covertly to seek strength from the Protestants, propending more to favour this *French Kings* labours, yea and desiring to entertain good correspondence with *England* also, as was strongly suspected, commending her Majesties Government above all Princes in the world. By which means and endeavours he drew upon him so great fear and hatred of the *Spanish* party, and especially of the Jesuits; (from whom also, as being too rich for vowes of poverty, he took away at one clap above ten thousand Crowns rent, and bestowed on *S. Peter*, as I have heard reported) that they stiled him a *Navarrist*, a Schismatick, and Heretick, an Allie of the Devils, yea and protested they would farther proceed against him: and at this day they ordinarily give out in *Italy*, that the Devil, with whom he had intelligence, came and fetcht him away; being in truth one of the worthiest Popes this age hath seen, and of a mind most possessed with high and honourable enterprizes. But the unprosperous event, as I said, of this project for the uniting of *Naples* again to the Papacy, and his precipitated ruine who dared to advance it: having been poysoned by *Spanish* practice (as the wisest there say) and while my self was in *Italy*, a Priest, one of the Popes Subjects, reported in secret, that there was lately a Supplication put up to his Holiness by a person unknown, craving

ving absolution at his hands for making away of a Pope (which was thought could be no other than this *Sixtus*) doth deter them that come after from embarking themselves in the like, and from imitating his actions whose end they have cause to tremble at.

So *Naples* remaineth in his view that hath most right to it; but in his hands and arms that is strongest to hold it: And is like so to continue till some stout Pope assisted with greater aids and opportunities, shall adventure to send back that *Spanish* Hackney with a great Horse after him, as the Frier advised. And this for the Popes temporal State: which may yield him perhaps two millions of yearly revenue, by reason of the great increase *Ferrara* hath brought; and be able to make at home for their own Defence some hundred thousand fighting men, or thereabout, if need were.

Of the Popes sucking from forreign Parts.

Besides what Rent arising from the Popes patrimony and state at home, that which he sucketh from **foreign parts** is not small even at this day; though nothing perhaps in comparison of those former rich times, when money came in daily so flush from all quarters, that their temporal, of which now they make their principal, was then but an accessory additament to their greatness. For among many other Blows which *Luther* with

his long pen hath given that See, it hath compelled them besides the entire loss in countries revolted; even in those which stick to them, to draw more moderately than before, for fear of offending. Yea they have been driven also in these latter times, to share or yield up into the hands of great Princes (of *France* namely and *Spain*) for the better assuring them, a great part of those Fleeces which themselves wont to hear from the Clergy heretofore without any such partners. Howbeit in *Italy* and some other few places, their Annates and Tithes do still run current: besides the Spoil, as they term them, or Strippings of Clergy-men at their deaths (unless in their life-time by yearly pension they list to redeem them) and amount no doubt unto a good round sum. His gain out of *Spain* is thought matchable very near to that of *Italy*: which the Kings thereof do and will more contentedly endure for the better assuring of the Papacy to them: which otherwise were likely to run mainly with *France*. I would not report it, but that I have it from good place, that *Pius Quintus* under pretences, after the Council of *Trent*, for visiting and reforming of their Clergy with other Papal affairs, was complained of to the Council of *Spain* to have drawn fourteen millions from them out of that Kingdom. When gain their pardons bring, I cannot well estimate, they being not sold now to particular persons after their former usage save in *Spain* and those out-appurtenances; where also the late King

Kings himself was said to have the greatest share, and in regard thereof to have intirepos'd his Regal authority in pressing their sale upon all his people. It is to be presumed that such a multitude of general, perpetual and plenary Indulgences, for all times, persons and offences, besides other more limited, as are granted to the greatest part of the Religious Houses, and to some other Churches of Italy, and to sundry in France also, yield somewhat to the Holy Father in way of thankful acknowledgment, considering their gain by them is not nothing.

The Cordeliers at Orleans at the publishing of one Indulgence, picked up, as they say there, four thousand Crowns at a blow. But howsoever the mystery of that Secret stand, this is plain and apparent, that the Papacy is content to use these Religious houses, as very sponges to drink what juice they can from the people, that afterwards he may wring them out one by one in his own Convents. The Convents have from him these Indulgences of Grace to remit sins and free souls from the flames of Purgatory: at the anniversary publishing whereof in their Churches, there stands in an eminent place the Box of Devotion, with some poor begging Crucifix lightly before it, and two tapers on each side to see the chink to put money in. What man can be so unthankful, so stony and dry hearted, as to give nothing to them who have forgiven them so much: especially there not wanting some holy presence to encourage, nor

many a dear eye to observe their good doings. Besides this, the Pilgrimages to their miraculous images (which draw great commodity to the Cities also and States wherein the people not ignorant thereof, help to set them a working; a consideration that bringeth contentment therewith no less to the Princes, so sweet is the taste of gain from whatsoever) the visiting of the holy Reliques; both which have their offerings: the purchasing of Masses both auxiliatory and expiatory; their rewards for praying, their collections for preaching, besides sundry other Duties; among which their *Obits*; which are so beneficial, that their Accompt is from a rich man to draw *Viii. & Modis* some hundred Crowns at his Funeral, or else it goes hard. Yea this is so certain and so good a rent unto them, that if any man of sort should be buried without their Solemnities, and some of their orders to accompany his Coarse; he should be thought a very Heretick, and be sure to have some odd bruit set abroad concerning him. As fell out not long since to a wealthy Citizen at *Liverpool*; who willing by his Testament to be buried in the night without their attending, tapering, censuring or singing, had a rumour of him soon spread by the belly-devout Friars, whom hunger and loss of hope had made wickedly irreligious, that he was haunted and infested with black rats on his death-bed. A matter of like truth to the Cordeliers Spirit at *Orleans*. These means extraordinary, besides their ordinary revenue, increasing

increasing often by Inheritances descending upon them, which hapning to any of their Brotherhood, go to the Convent for ever, (such is the Law of *Italy*) being granted or permitted by the Pope to the Friers, and all to enrich them; the Law of Thankfulness requires, Reason and Equity allows, and their Vow of Poverty adviseth, that when they grow too rich, his Holiness should let them bloud in their over-full Veins, for his own necessary sustenance, as did *Sixtus Quintus*; who pared away the superfluities of sundry rich Convents, as fitter for his high State and honourable Designs, than for them, who had Poverty in recommendation. This Pope dealeth more gently by way of Loans: which may perhaps in the end come all to one reckoning: Besides which, when War against *Turks* or Hereticks; or any other Enemies of the Church, on any other great Affair requires employment of the Church Treasury; there are Taxes and Subsidies imposed or requested, to a certain proportion, upon the Revenue of all the Abbeyes, and other Religious Convents in *Italy*, besides the rest of the Clergie, which can be no small matter; as it was done these last years, for the service of *Hungary*. I might add hereto the Roll of his forreign Commodities, the Fees of Dispensations, chiefly in prohibited degrees for Marriage: There being few Royal Families at this day in Christendome, which by reason of their often Alliances, and nearness of Bloud, are able by his Canons to intermarry
without

without his License. Which fashion of restraining of things lawfull, upon shew of Vertue, that afterwards by dispensing even with unlawfull things, they may raise their benefit, is the base brood of the mixture of Hypocritie and Covetousness, born to the common calamity and presure of them, for whose ease and felicity, all Government was instituted. But by these, and infinite other Dispensations and Expeditions, his Papal Authority doth accommodate, and is accommodated reciprocally of all Nations, the Particularities whereof, I will not farther insist upon, this being sufficient to verifie this assertion, that even at this day those out Incomes are good helps for an extraordinary charge, when need is. And yet all this notwithstanding, the Treasure of the Church is small. *Sixtus Quintus* left five Millions by his great racking and Husbandry. His Successor *Gregory the XIII.* wasted four of them in ten months and less, (above his ordinary Revenue,) in Pomp and Riot. This man is very chary over that one remaining, and distilleth all other Devices, rather than let finger to that string, which yet his late prowesses have caused him to assay. But were the Church Rent and Gain, how huge soever, two assiduous Horse-leeches, which never lin sucking it, will never suffer it to swell overgreatly in Treasure. The first is the high Place of Honour, which he takes far above all other Princes and Monarchs in the world; which draweth him to an inestimable charge in all places, to carry it with

with countenance and comeliness, requisite; being forced thereby in his own Trains in the Entertainment he gives Princes, in his Allowance to his Legates, Nuncios, and other Ministers, which according to his own Greatness, are sent into all Countries; and lastly, in furnishing out to the multitude of his Actions and Practices over the World; to raise his charge for the most part according to the proportion of his high State. For Honour and Frugality are the unsittest Companions that can be. It is his Liberality and Expence, which both breeds and maintains Honour. Neither can a Judicial man perhaps, with worse to his Enemy, than to have an Honourable Casting, and a poor Living.

Another thing which keeps the Papacie always so bare, yea, and makes their Temporal State the worse governed in Italy, for so it is counted, is in their often change of Popes; by reason of their years, the infinite desire each hath to advance his Kindred; his Children first, if he hath any, as *Pope Sixtus*, who left his base Issue no less than *Dukes of Florence and Parma*, and *Gregory XIII.* more lately, who made his base Son *Duke of Modena and Castellano of St. Angelo*; and if they have no Children, or list not to be known of them, then their Nephews and other kinsmen, which is common to them all. Yea, it often falls out, that those Popes, who have not any known Children of their own, by extending their love larger to a greater multitude of Nephews, yet desiring for their

their own Renown, and perpetuating of their Name, to raise them to as great State and Wealth as they can possibly, do consume more the Goods and Treasure of the Church, than those other who have their loves, though stronger, yet to fewer: as was apparent in the two *Gregories* the XIII. with his few Sons, and the XIII. with the multitude of his Nephews and kinsmen. And these men being raised often from the bottom of Baseness to the height of Pride and Power; having no hold in their Hands, nor scantling of their Fortunes, as having never been in the middle Estate, which is the measure of both extreams, do fall into Ryot, able to ruine any Prince; and rage and ravine in their Offices and Governments, as they that knowing their time short, mean to use it to the full proof; the examples whereof are both many and fresh, which for their foulness and baseness, I dist not to repeat: For which cause it was a good help for *Sixtus Quintus* to be Pope, that he had small kindred: though that ground is moveable; seeing Pedigrees change for the most part together with mens fortunes; which as a conscionable Arbitrator, neither annoys the poor ever with multitude of kinsmen, nor discomforts the rich with paucity.

Of the Clergie, under Papacy.

For the state of the rest of the Clergie under the Papacy, it varieth as the Countries. In Spain the

the Prelates are exceeding rich in Revenue: the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, not inferior to some Kingdoms. In *Italy*, the Livings of the Prelates are competent, considering the excessive multitude: Yet with so great diversity, that some meet Bishopricks, are above twenty thousand Crowns Rent, and other some under one thousand. But the custom of *Italy*, which avoideth, yea and blameth multitude of servants and great house-keeping in all sorts and degrees, makes a small matter sufficient, and a great superfluous. Besides, there to have many Livings, is a matter of Credit, not of Profit only; though as wise men as they, have thought otherwise of it; to be a private great burthen, and a publick great mischief. The Parish Priests in *Italy*, who have not the Tenths, (which in a Country whose soyl yields three Harvests in sundry places in a year, would amount to an huge matter, and considering the great Rents & Exactions, would be insupportable,) but have in stead of them, certain Farms as Glebe-land appropriate, & some certain quantity out of the increase of their Neighbours, are so provided for, that the meanest lightly, which are their *Curati*, have an hundred Crowns a year, and the *Piowani*, which are the Priests of Mother Churches, from two hundred to five hundred, and upward sometimes, which they help out with Masses as occasion serves; which are still in *Italy* as cheap as a Groat. In *Germany*, the Prelates are likely great Princes, and great Nobility required to have those places.

In

In France, the Clergy hath been in fore-times most flourishing; their Revenue amounting, when Land and all things were cheapeſt, to ſix Millions in the whole; beſides their great Places and Authority in their State, and their ample Jurisdiction in their ſeveral Precincts.

At this day they are fallen generally; eſpecially the inferior part, into great miſery and beggery; accompanied with all baſe and vile conditions; whereby the Country people is grown alſo utterly without knowledge of God or ſenſe of Religion; being fallen into thoſe terms, that Plenty, which ſhould make men thankful; makes them but wanton; and affliction which ſhould make men repentant, makes them deſperate; and nothing can better them. The whole Realm in ſum, hath been ſcourged with a three ſtringed Whip, War, ill Government, and Injuſtice particular: whereof the two latter are like to laſt ſtill; whilst on the one ſide, the Places of Juſtice are ſold by the Drum; on the other ſide, the Church Prelacies and other governments of Souls, are made the fees and charges of meer Courtiers and Souldiers; whole merits would have Rewards, but ſuſtaining to their quality: which in a Realm ſo ſbounding with means could not be wanting, but by too much want of indifferency and meaſure, heaping all upon a few; and moſt where are leaſt deſerts: where as theſe ſo unfit and ill-suited recompences, diſtemper that harmony which ſhould be in a flourishing Eſtate, and
over

overwhelm the Land with all kind of corruption
and confusion!

Of the Pape, and his Election,

But to return to the Papacy, or rather now to
the Pope himself, and first to his Election: the
Right whereof having been of Old in the Clergy
and People, and from thence transferred to the
Emperors nomination, is now wholly remitted
to the College of Cardinals: so that two third
parts of their Voyces that are present are requisite
to him, that either by adoration or in Scrutiny
shall win that glory. Which double proportion of
Voices to agree, makes this Election of greater
difficulty, and gives occasion of rarer stratagems
and devices in it than I suppose are to be found in
any other in the world. I have heard that in these
latter times a Cardinal of Sicily, whose Holyness
and Learning advanced him to that dignity,
(for of some such alwayes there is care to make
choice for divers considerations,) entering the Con-
clave to an Election, and expecting that by in-
cessant Prayer, as in times of old, some divine in-
spiration should have pointed out Christ himself,
but finding when he was there, nothing but pra-
ctising and canvassing, promising and terrifying,
bandying and combining, setting of some up for
stalls only to ease passage for other, who were
reserved till the last Xalt, when former hopes and
angers being spent and evaporated, had abated the
prime

prime edge and strength of opposition; in sum, being himself also assaulted by all means, yea, tugged and haled now by one part, now by another, the good man agast, as in a matter so clean contrary to his fore-framed expectation, *Ad hunc modum*, quoth he, *sunt Pontifices Romani*? And therewithall, so soon as that Conclave was broken, retired to his Country, and would never see Rome again. But the matter of greatest mark herein at this day, is the power of the K. of Spain, in swaying those Elections: who by pensions, by preferments, by hopes of the highest, having assured a great third part of the Cardinals to him, and to be always at his devotion in all Elections; where by having the *Exclusiue* as they term it; no Pope can be made, but with his liking: He proceeds on by his Ambassadors, to name also some five or six unto them, whereof please they to chuse any, he shall rest well satisfied. Which course, though it mightily distasteth the rest of the Cardinals, who are hereby for ever debarred from their chief desire; yea, and inwardly much afflict the great States of Italy, who are loath to have their Pope of a *Spanish Election*: yet is there no remedy; one of those in fine, they needs must chuse; the discretion they can have is only this, to chuse such of them as is likely to prove least to his purpose. A memorable Example hereof in the Election of the last Gregory: where a greater part of the Cardinals enflamed against the King, and bandying against him; yet in conclusion, after two Months imprisonment

imprisonment in the Conclave, were forced to relent, and to chuse one of his Nominates, or otherwise a cleer case, no Election at all: Which whether there were or no, made no matter to *Spain*: who stood upon the surer ground in his exclusive obstinateness; The necessity of the Church, the State of the Papacie, their own present condition, the disorders of the City of *Rome*, and of all their Territory, which in want of a Pope, and in this locking up of the Cardinals, as it were into a Cellar, do swarm exceedingly, did mainly cry out to have some Pope or other: which at last they yielded to, by consenting upon a favourite, yea, and Subject of *Spain* also; for such was that *Gregory*. Howbeit; the main matter runs not with him so clearly; they being not the same men that are chosen, and that are Popes: but changing with their Estate, both Name and Nature also. Yea sometimes, not easie to find two divers men of humour more different, than is the same man in his Cardinalship, and in his Papality. Whereof no man better Witnesse than *Sixtus Quintus*, the most crouching humble Cardinal that was ever lodged in an Oven, and the most stout resolute Pope that ever wore Crown: in his Cardinalship a meer Slave and Vassal of *Spain*; in his Papacy the dangeroudest Enemy *Spain* had in the World: in sum, who in his Cardinalship was scorned as a base Friar, in his Papacy was redoubted as a Prince of great worth and Spirit.

Neither is their any marvail to be made of this difference; seeing the hope of obtaining and of maintaining the Papal honour, are so clean contrary: seeing in the one Estate they fashion themselves to all other mens humours; in the other they look that all men should accommodate themselves to their honours; and lastly, seeing those Princes whose favour is the only means to compass the place, their power is the only terrour of quelling down the Estate. For which cause as in general the Cardinals do in their hearts favour *France* above *Spain*, both as being the weaker part and the farther Neighbour, and the only hope to maintain counterpoize against the others greatness: So let the King of *Spain* make what choice among them of a Pope he can, he shall find that as long as those Reasons continue; who-soever sits in the Seat, will respect more his own safety, than the service of his preferrer; even as doth this very Pope, who for that cause is conceived to have made some alteration of inward firm friendships, though holding in good terms of love and loialty with both. But this uncertainty and mutability of the new Popes affections, doth cause both the King of *Spain* and other Princes of *Italy*, above all things to aim at man of a calm nature, and not stirring mettall: That if they cannot make any great account of his Friend-ships; yet this natural Disposition and Temper, may assure them that he will not be a raiser of new Stirs in *Italy*; as divers of them
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to scramble somewhat for their own, have been: as on the other side, an especial good iudgement to the Cardinals, is his Age and Sickliness, that the Place may be made void again; for the gaining whereof, there is alwayes practising and plotting anew immediately upon the Election.

And thus is the Pope made: who hath his **Council of Cardinals** to attend and advise him; he chosen by them, and they created him: Whose number may amount they say, to **Seventy two**: But many Places are kept void still to serve for desperate pushes: and of those that are, some twenty lightly are the younger Sons of Dukes and Princes; who in case their Ancestors States should descend upon them, with Dispensation from the Pope would resign up their Hats. Among the Cardinals for their own Honour, and for the gratifying of the World, are sorted out and divided, all the Orders of Religions, and all the Nations of Christendom; whereof they are appointed the particular Protectors in the Court of Rome: As the Protector of *England* now, is **Cardinal Galetane**, a stout man, of *Spanish* Faction; who hath been Legate into *France*, and more lately into *Poland*; but is now returned. Among this Counsel also, being compacted of many Personages of very eminent sufficiencie, what for their Learning, what for their Experience: and weighty Employments are parted, as by way of several

Congregations, according to the use of the several Counsels in *Spain*, all the important Affairs, as well standing, as by daily new occasions arising, of the Church and Papacy, by which means they both disburthen the Pope of much lighter Business, and the greater causes by long and exact discussion are ripened and made fit for his decision. Such is the Congregation for propagation of Christian Faith; the Congregation of the Inquisition; the Congregation for *England*; the Congregation of Bishops; for all Controversies which happen between them, and their Subjects; a Congregation for any Diversity of Opinion, in matter of Religion, between School-men or Friars; with sundry such other. A Course lately there begun, but of good importance, and well worthy to be imitated.

Of the Pope present, his Race, Name, and Life

Now for **This Pope**, who by Race and Name a *Florentine*, but his Father having been chased thence, upon a Conspiracie against Duke *Cosimo*, by Birth became a kind of *Roman*; I have little more to say, than that which I have before touched. He is reputed to be a man of a good calm Disposition, and not too crafty; yet close and suspicious, and thereby secured to hold his own well enough; kind to his Friends, and devout in his way, and thinks without doubt, that he is in the right. He will weep very often;
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(some conceive upon a weakness and tenderness of mind, habituated therein by custome: others say upon piety and godly compassion:) At his Masses, in his Processions, at the fixing up his Jubilees, his eyes are still watering, sometimes streaming with tears; in so much that for weeping, he seems another *Heraclitus*, to ballance with the last *Gregory*, another *Democritus* for laughing. Touching his secret life, the *Italians* speak somewhat diversly, especially for his younger years. But mens tongues are always prone to attaint their Governours; and the worst men speak worst, as hoping themselves to lurk under the blemishes of their betters. For my part, hearing no extraordinary bad matter against him, but only by suspicion, I judge the best; and howsoever, had rather preserve the credit of an ill man, than stain or impair it in a good. For his years, he doth little exceed Three-score and three: but is troubled with the Dropsie, and that caused (some say) or accompanied with a thirsty infirmity.

For a Prelate he hath good commendation, a favourer of Learning, and advancer of them, whose Studies have been to the advancement of his See: an enemy to the licentious life of Friars, yea, to the Pomp also, and secular Bravery of Cardinals; howbeit, more desiring reformation in both, than daring to attempt it in either, for ought that yet appears: Very magnificent and ceremonial in his outward Comportment; in his private, austere and humble, as his friends say; in managing the

Church temporal goods, rather thrifty than liberal; but of their Spiritual Treasure of Supererogatory works in Indulgences and Pardons, (which he useth not only as charitable reliefs of the needy, but as honourable gifts also to reward Princes that have presented him,) in these I should think him very exceeding wastefull, but that where the Treasure is infinite, there the spender in ordinary account cannot be Prodigal. For a Prince, he hath been thought somewhat defective heretofore, as being neither of deep Resolution, nor of great Spirit. But fortunate men are wise, and Conquerours valiant. And surely this man's Projects and Accounts have so well prospered, what in reduction of the *French* King by prosecuting him to extremity: what in the matter of *Ferrara*; what in working the great Peace; (the honour whereof by the most is wholly attributed to the Pope, though other say, he was importuned to deal in it by the *Spaniard*, being so tyred and wasted out with troubling his Neighbours, that in fine, no desire, no hope, but in Peace only,) that it hath purchased him the opinion, not only of a fortunate and wise Pope, but of one who doth sincerely affect the quiet of Christendom, and thinks nothing remaining to the height of his Glory, but to be the Author of an universal League and War against the *Turk*, against whom he hath sundry times given aid already. For which end it is conceived, notwithstanding his ability and opportunity extraordinary, what by his Excommunications,

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ons, and what by his ready Army, to have righted himself: that yet he hath laid by his own particular pretences, as well against the **great Duke of Tuscany**, for *Borgo di San Sepulchro* which belongs to the Church; as also and more principally against the *Venetians*, for **Rovigo** and the **Polesine**, which they have rent by War, and retain from *Ferrara*; (not to mention that ancient Quarrel, touching the **Patriarchship of Aquileia**, whose Territory, even all **fruits**, their State is said to have usurped:) that no private temporal commodity of his Church and See, might give impediment to the publick most necessary good, in withstanding and repressing the **grand Enemy of Christendom**. These thoughts surely are honourable; neither unnecessary for his own future safety, considering how near a Neighbour the **Turk** is to him, and how often his State hath been afflicted by him, and sometimes enhazarded. But now for his near Neighbours, the great Duke and the *Venetians*, as their States, so their Loves and his are but Neighbourly: they thinking his growing to be their stop and endangering. But the *Venetians* perhaps fear him, and the great Duke hates him more: the *Venetians* as having still even painted in their great Palace, and daily before their eyes, the extremity to which former Popes Excommunications have brought them; (having their State as ill seated, in regard of Potent Neighbours, who all gape after them upon any advantage, as any that I know again

in the world ; the *Turk* confining and bordering with them on the East, the King of *Spain* on the West, the Emperour on the North ; the Pope on the South ;) who can never want pretence, they holding that which they list not yield, besides some jealousies and discourtesies passed lately between them and the Pope, and his Cardinals : The great Duke not only for that Hereditary Enmity first, and that Personal Discourtesie since, at what time affecting the Title of the King of *Tuscany*, (whereof his Wife is written Queen by some already,) and having got (as is said) the Emperours liking, the Pope denyed him, putting him off with a distinction, that he was content he should be King in *Tuscany*, but not King of *Tuscany*, which scholastical subtilties, plain Suiters do not love ; but much more for that correspondence of Conference and Favour, which is thought to be between the Pope, and those popular *Florentines*, who distasted with their Home Government once free, now almost servile, live both else-where abroad, and at *Rome*, in exceeding store ; especially, seeing not only this Pope in the faction of his particular Family, but all Popes, in the affection which the Papacy it self doth engender ; do naturally more desire, that their Neighbours State should be popular ; as having the ground of their Greatness in swaying the multitude. But generally the Dukes of *Tuscany*, will be alwayes regardfull to hold the best correspondence with the

the Popes that may be: as having their State more open to assault on that side, the rest being surrounded by the **Apennine** and the Sea. To conclude, this Pope, where there is no private cause of disavouring his person, or disallowing his place, carrieth the name of a good Pope: and they which do subtilize the points of goodness more curiously, will say that *Pius Quintus* was a good Prelate, but no good Prince; that *Sixtus Quintus*, a good Prince, but no good Prelate; *Gregory* the xiiijth. a good Prelate, a good Prince, but no good man: this Pope both good Man, good Prelate, and good Prince.

And so I leave him, wishing his daily encrease in all parts of true goodness: whereof his Church hath too little, I ween, and himself haply as other good men nothing too much: and return now to the Papacy.

Of the Nations which adhere unto the Papacy; especially Italy.

The next point wherein, which cometh to be considered, is what power it is of at this day in the world by reason of those **Nations** which either in whole or great part still adhere unto it, which are **Italy** with his **Ilands**; **Spain** with his **Indies**; **Germany** with his **Shirts** (which I account the seventeen Provinces of the **Low-Countries** on one side the thirteen Cantons of **Swisse**, and three Leagues of **Grisons** on another, and

and **Bohemia** with **Moravia** and **Silesia** on a third) and lastly the great united, well seated, fruitful, populous Kingdom of **France**, with his Neighbours of **Lorain** and **Savoy**: (whom though Princes of the Empire whensoever themselves list and find it for their profit, yet in regard of their greater affinity to *France* both in language and fashions, which consociate also affections, I annex unto it) of all which some brief view seems necessary to be taken. For as for **Poland** and **Transilvania** with **Galathia**, and the remains of **Hungarie**: by reason of their near and dangerous confining with the **Great Turk**, together with the multitude of Religions which are swarming in them, in *Poland* especially (of which it is said by way of by-word, that if a man have lost his Religion, let him go seek it in *Poland*, and he shall be sure to find it; or else make account it is vanished out of the world) there is no great reckoning to be made of their force either way. Then **England** with the more Northern Kingdoms, **Scotland**, **Denmark** and **Sweden**, (whose King notwithstanding is of the *Roman* Faith now, but hath few there that follow him) they are accounted wholly to have cast off the Papacy. For albeit they make reckoning of many favourers in them, as of forty hundred sure Catholics in *England* alone, with four hundred *English* *Roman* Priests to maintain that *Militia*) who upon quarrel with the Jesuits, affecters of superiority, and disgracers of all that refuse to depend upon them,

them, have instantly of late demanded a Bishop of the Pope, to be chosen by them, and to be resident among them, but are crost in that desire, by the countermines of an Arch-Priest, obtruded upon them by the practice of the Jesuits) yet this is so small a proportion being compar'd with the whole as not to be esteemed: especially seeing in *Italy* accounted wholly theirs, there are full forty thousand professed Protestants that have exercise of their Religion also, in the vallies of *Piemont* and *Saluzzo*, besides sundry Gentlemen in *Piemont* who live abroad and resort unto them. In *Lucca* also a great part are thought favourers of the Reformation, and some of that sort there are scatter'd in all places: especially in the State of *Venice*. But their paucity and obscurity shall enclose them in a cypher. So that for *Italy*, we will account it wholly to stand for the Papacy. True it is that the Princes and other free States of *Italy* little favour the Popes enlarging in his temporal dominion at home; being already of a large size in proportion with theirs; and especially for those pretences which his See never wanteth, and those extraordinary advantages which the concurrence of his Spiritual Supremacy by Interdictions, Excommunications, Discharging Oaths of Obedience, doth give him above all other Princes in the world. Which they also above all other men in the world have greatest cause to fear; both in regard of the huge multitude of Priests, Prelates, and Friars, wherewith he

he hath fortified himself exceedingly in all other states, and in theirs above all excessively; as also for that discontent which their cruel and crying extortions and oppressions, by monopolies and taxes, by impositions upon mens persons, upon their Lands and goods, upon their Viands and Markets, upon their Trades and Labours, upon their Successions, upon their Marriages, in sum upon all beneficial or easeful actions, have bred in their own miserable and consumed subjects; who wish rather that all *Italy* were reduced into the hands of some one Natural Potentate, whose greediness how great soever, they were able to satisfy; and of the Popes above all mens, who promiseth some more lenity by his late example at *Ferrara*, where he remitted many Imposts which their late Dukes had raised; than to be thus daily racked, flayed and devoured, by so many petty Tyrants, as it were, with their prolling Gabelliers: whose Ambitions and Emulations, whose Prides and Pleasures, thirteen millions of yearly revenue, which *Italy* now yieldeth them, is not able to exsate. Howbeit, though as I said, for these important causes, the Princes and States of *Italy* no way favour the Popes strength in his temporal at home (considering withal what swelling and turbulent spirits mount sometimes into that Chair, who have purposely set *Italy* on a flaming fire, that in the sacking of many, themselves might get somewhat, for the advancing of such as

Nature

Nature and Blood did cause them to love best) yet on the contrary side for his spiritual power and sovereignty abroad, they wish it upheld and restored if it were possible; both for the honour of their Nation, which is thereby the triumphant Queen of the world; and much more for the commodity which by vicinity they and theirs reap thence in more abundance than all other together, what by sharing as occasion serves, in his booties abroad, what by being alwaies in sight to receive favours at home, what by that which necessarily sticks to them in very passing through their Territories. Then to exclude any Innovation, their own safety and not quiet alone perswades them, it being dangerous in a body so full of diseased and discontented humors, to change or stir any thing, seeing all alteration sets humours on working: and one humour on foot, quickneth up all other, what allured by sympathy, what by antipathy provoked: the end whereof is either the dissolving of Nature by length of conflicts, or the disburdening of Nature by expelling that which before opprest it. For this cause no audience to be given to the Reformation, as enemy to their peace, which is the Nurse of their riches and sole anchor of their safety. For it were but simplicity to think that Conscience and Love of Truth did sway this deliberation: the world having in most places done Religion that honour, as to remove it out of those secret dark Cabinets of the heart, where the jealousy of

of some devout dreamers of the gardens of Paradise had imprison'd it; and advanced it to the fairest sight and shew of the world, even to make a very mask or vizard of it with eyes and mouth fairly painted and proportioned to all pretences and purposes. And other of yet more gallant free spirit have given it a general pass to go whither it self list, so it come not near them. It doth grieve me to speak, yea the thought of it must needs bring horror and detestation, [what a multitude of Atheists do brave it in all places; there most where the Papacy is most in his prime; what renouncers of God, Blasphemers of his Son, villanizers of his Saints; and scorers of his Service; who think it a glorious grace to adore the King of a Countrey; but to name or think reverently of the Creator of the world, to proceed from a timorous very base mindedness and abjectedness: of so deep reach and judgment are these Pedlers in their proportions, who know no other Magistrates but those of their Parishes. These men are favourable alike to all Religions; but can best endure that wherein they are least checkt, and may range with most impunity. But for the Soldiery of this age (a profession and exercise in old time reputed for an only School of vertue, but now infamed with all vice & villany; in old time such, that the wisest Philosopher thought it reason sufficient why the *Lacedæmonians* were generally more virtuous than other Nations, because they followed the wars more; at this day a cause in all places of clean contrary effects) these

these desperate Atheisms, these *Spanish* renouncings, and *Italian* blasphemings have now so prevailed in our Christian Camps, that if any refrain them, he shall be upbraided as no Souldier or gallant-minded man, that the very *Turks* have the Christians blaspheming of *Christ* in execration, & will punish their prisoners sorely, when through impatience or desperateness, they burst into them; yea the *Jews* in their speculations of the causes of the strange successes of the affairs of the world, assign the reason of the *Turks* prevailing so against the Christians, to be their Blasphemies and blasphemous Oaths, which wound the ears of the very Heavens, and cry to the high Throne of Justice, for speedy vengeance. As for great persons, and Princes of whom it was said by the *Spanish* Frier, that few went to Hell, and the reason, because they were few; it is a rare thing and happy where ever it falls out that any of them hath any true and affecting sense of those first and undoubted grounds of Religion, to what sort or sect soever it propend. Their examples, I speak of many of them, which were able to be the soveraign restorers of virtue, and re-establishers of an happy world, with the endless bliss of many millions now perishing through their great default; are at this day the only ruine and despair of goodness: having forgotten whole Lieutenants they are in the world, for what end they are placed, for what cause they are honoured; and most of all what a great account they have to pass at the last Audit,

Audit, when their favourites and fancy-feeding flatterers shall all shrink from them, and nothing but their own deeds and deserts accompany them. But all these whether Atheists in opinion or in conversation (between whom small choice) being reckoned or let pass to make up the number: yet hold I that from *Italy* more wishes than other, help to maintain the Papacy abroad, by reason of the partition of it into such a multitude of States: where the greater do nothing but limbeck their Brains in the Arts of Alchymie and Ballancing; to enrich themselves by the one, drawing Gold out of all things; and by the other to poise their neighbours, and keep them of equal weight, there adding some help of their hand where the Scales are lighter: and the lesser States flee most to the protection of the Chief, as the City of **Genoua** and **Lucca**, the Duke of **Arbino**, the **Signor** of **Piambino**, with certain other, who all recognize the King of *Spain* for their Patron; as casting by him to be sufficiently secured from the encroachments of the other three, and counting that from him the united consent of all the rest will still preserve them, to whom his greatness is fearful, and his growing would be pernicious. There have been of them also, as the last Duke of **Ferrara**, who have apparently entertained both amity and straight intelligence with sundry of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, on purpose to hold their neighbors, and especially the Pope, in awe of

calling the Protestants into their succour, if they should either assault or otherwise provoke them. And thus much for Italy. *Spain* is reputed wholly the Popes ally; as having been a long time governed by the most devoted King, and longer curbed in by the most cruel Inquisition, that ever the world had for the upholding of that way. Howbeit the State of *Spain* is now soe passed soe lightly over, where in though my self have never been, yet by manifold enquiry and information from some of their own, and from others who have been in it, men of knowledge and credit, this much do I conceive touching the State of their Religion. That as of a Nation which aimeth so apparently at the *Pre-eminence* of the whole *West*, it is at this day none of the most puissant to achieve the same; their Countrey being so generally exhauft of men, what eaten up with long war, what transplanted into their huge number of *Indian* Colonies, that their Cities remain now wholly peopled with women, having some old men among them, and many young children, whereof the grave attends the one, and foreign service the other (as if State for an *Amazonian* Empire to be revived in) so likeless for a Kingdom that hath the *Synagogue* of Catholick, none in greater danger in the world, either wholly or in great part to cast

off Christianity; unless grace from above and better wisdom do stay the increase of those pestilent cankers of Mahometism and Judaism, which threaten the final decay and eating out of Christianity. And to carry this matter with an indifferent course of report, neither aggravating it so much as some do in their doubt and jealousy, nor yet extenuating it so much as other some in their confidence and jollity, seeing fear casts beyond, and hope short of the very danger, there is in Spain a sort of people of the Marrany as they terme them, who are baptized Jews and Moors, and many of them in secret withall, circumcised Christians; who are spread over the whole Land, but swarm most in the South parts, confining with Africa; and are in such store, that in many places as some say, they exceed the true Christians, by no small proportion. They which say least, and speak favourably for the honour of Spain, will say there are of them, an hundred thousand Families; in which at the least, an hundred thousand men able to bear Arms.

All which, though conforming themselves in some sort of outward shew unto the Christian Religion; yet are thought in heart to be utterlyaverse from it, & to retain an inward desire to return to that superstition, from which their Ancestors by rigor and terror were driven. And the Jews will say in Italy, that there come divers Spaniards to them, to be circumcised there, and so away to Constantinople, to plant in the East. The State of

Spain is in often fear of these men rebelling; and especially, that they would joyn with any Enemies that should invade them. For although they are forbidden to have any Arms, and yearly search be made for it over all the Kingdom, in an unknown and least suspected instant, yet is there no doubt but armed they are, and have their secret caves and devices to conceal them. This sort continually growing by living quietly at home, and the other part decaying daily by forreign employment: what the issue may be, though reason may probably conjecture, yet time only and proof can give assistance. That famous and fearful Inquisition of Spain was instituted first on purpose against these **Mongrel Christians** some hundred years since: at what time when King **Ferdinand** by chasing the **Jews**, **Moors** and **Arabians** out of his Dominions merited the name of **King Catholic**, great numbers of them chusing rather to make change of their Religion in shew, than of their Countrey indeed, consented to receive Baptism: which in secret they soon polluted or renounced by Circumcision and other Superstitions, wherein the **Arabians** and **Moors** concurred with the **Jews**; and so continued with a false face and double heart, and have transmitted both the one and the other to their off-spring to this very day. But this Inquisition, being first, as I said, brought in to chastise those Miscreants & besides that in **Aragon**, a freer State than the rest; being received only for term

of eighty years, it is in right long since expired, and holdeth only by title of the Kings pleasure and possession; and the Portugals also have lately renewed their old suit, together with their old offer of an huge summe of money, to buy out at leastwise the rigour and injustice of it, in their Countries and for their persons; which it is thought this young King hath meaning to accept, if the sweetness of tyranny, which by Courts of so voluntary and lawless proceeding is principally supported, do give no hinderance: The Eye and edge of it hath been so wholly of latter times converted to their doring out of the Reformed Religion in all places, that the other sort by neglecting them have grown in strength, and by their strength now begin to despise their chastisers, whom fear, they say, enforceth often to speak many things, which no eye open but needs must see. Thus farth it with gardens, wherein greater care is taken to pull up the suspected herbs than to keep down the apparent weeds: what farther hopes this Sect may have, I know not: This is clear, that a great part of the *Spanish* Nobility is mixed at this day with *Jewish* blood, by marrying off their younger brethren for wealths sake with the *Jews*; upon whom, in time, the elder failing, the honour and house hath descended. But to leave these *Marrans*: Another pestilent Sect there was not long since of the *Illuminati* in *Arragon*; whose founders were an hypocritical Crew of their Priests, who affecting in themselves and Followers, a certain *Angeli-*

cal piety, fell suddenly to the very counterpoint of justifying bestiality. But these men and their light are quenched some while since. The last and obscurest sort are the poor persecuted Protestants, against whom all Laws, all Writs, all Tortures are strongly bent. All which notwithstanding, there are thought to be no fewer than twenty thousand in *Sevil* it self, who in heart are that way; among whom certain books of the Religion being secretly dispersed, the Inquisitors for their number take who were to be touched, were required to forbear, and to provide some other way.

In sum, I have heard it acknowledged by some of their own Country and Religion, that among other things the scandals of their Clergy and Friars, especially in forging Miracles in their Spirits and Images, do draw the people to a loathing and suspicion of their way: and were it not for the Inquisition, he thought generally they would fall away and turn Protestants in short time. They have in *Spain*, as he told me, a Crucifix, whose hair and nails fall a growing now in his old age, as in a dead man executed; the rest not stirring: at which the devout men of the Clergy jerk up their eyes, and the wiser of the Laity wag their heads. That holy *Queen of Portugal*, of whom the *Spaniards* taken prisoners **Eighty eight** made so much vaunting, who had the five wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the Crucifix in the skin of her breast: to whom that **Invisible Army** repaired for **Benediction** to set forward their Victory;

is lately deprehended and condemned for a Sorcerer, upon a general information of the whole Sisterhood against her; who hating her for her arrogance, and watching her fingers, in fine discovered that the one was no other than a forced rawness of the flesh, procured by fretting herbs and waters, when she meant to shew her self: and the other came by continual binding of a little graven Crucifix to the part so printed. The famous **Lady of Guadalupe**, who transporteth through the air such prisoners in **Africa**, as vow themselves unto her, is said by some other, to have her Credit empaired, by occasion of a Fugitive servant, who being run from his Master, was suborned by the Friars to play that fleeing part, complaining that our Lady, for the wickedness of this Age, did restrain those Graces, but yet that it was a godly act to maintain men in their devotions. In fine, he was disclosed and seized on by his Master. But this is more certain, and of more general report, That for the weeping and sweating of their Images, they have had a trick in all places to bore holes behind them, and put into them the new-cut sprigs of a Vine; which being of a bleeding nature, and dropping easily through the thin plaster remaining unpierced, make shew of tears or sweat as they list. Yea some of their *Italian* Friars have confessed withall, that their fashion is, when their Gimmals are all in tye for a Miracle; to enjoin some silly old woman, in her confession, to say her Devotions before the Altar, where the Image

Image prepared to play a Miracle is seated: abusing the weakness of her sex and age, to report that confidently, which her proneness to think our Lady might extraordinarily love her, made her easily believe. Wise Gentlemen, who have been present at their exorcising of Spirits, have observed plain arguments of intelligence between the parties, as in the actors of an enterlude. Though that this should be alwaies so, were hard to avouch; the multitude of *Indemoniati* (whereof most are women) being so huge in *Italy*, (even as of *Witches* in *Savoy*) of which some are daily cured in shew, by their exorcisms; but for one that is holpen, almost twenty are either past their Curing, or otherwise (as in Counterfeits) unwilling to be cured. But in sum, the falsehoods in all these kinds, are grown so ordinary and palpable to themselves, that some of their better Prelates, have removed and withdrawn an Image of our Lady, upon the broaching of a report, that it discovered it self for a Wonder-worker. So unsavory is the food of fools, to the taste of wise men: and such is Gods curse upon all forgery and falsehood, as in the end to overthrow that, which chuseth it for his foundation: as hath hapned already in some places, and may in time, in other.

Of Germany.

Touching Germany, I have seen an old Estimate of it by such as favoured the Papacy, that in the beginning of the Empire of *Ferdinand*, there

was not past one twelfth part remaining Catho-
lick: which now in my understanding, must needs
be otherwise. For comprehending in it **Bohemia**,
with its Appurtenances, I should think that near a
sixth part, were devoted that way: their number
being encreased, and perhaps doubled since that
time, by the Sedulity of many of the Prelates, and
one other great Prince, the Duke of **Bavaria**,
who using the advantage of the **Interim**, on their
part, have forced those Protestants, which were in
their States, to quit either Religion, or Goods, or
Country. The same hath been attempted by the
Arch-Dukes of **Austria**, and in some places, as
in their Country of **Tiroll**, effected. But in **Austria**
it self, not so; wherein the number of Protestants
exceeds, and is fearfull to their opposites: though
the Exercise of the Reformed Religion, is there
no where allowed, and in some chief Cities, as
Vienna, wholly restrained. But the most part of
the Country People are of it; so are half the No-
bility. The **Duke** of **Cleves**, a third Prince af-
fected the same way, hath shewed himself a little
more moderate than some other, so advised by
Neighbourhood. The **free Cities**, which are of
very great number and strength, have all save
some very few, enfreed themselves from the Pope,
either in whole, or in their greater part. And thus
stands the State of the Empire for that point:
containing in it a very huge Circuit of Territory,
full of mighty Princes, and well fortified Cities:
that if it were more strictly united under one Au-
thority,

warth, and not so rent into Factions with diversity of Religions, breeding endless jealousies, heart-burnings and hatreds, it needed no other help to affront the great *Turk*, and to repulse all his Forces, to the security of Christendom.

But in this so unequal proportion of adherents to the Papacy, two things there are which give them hope of better, if prosperous success shall succeed their well contrived projects. The one is the creating of the Emperours alwaies of their party; wheteof they assure themselves by these considerations. First, there is no House in *Germany* at this day, of such greatness, as is requisite to withstand the *Turk* in his encroachments, the House of *Austria* set aside; who, by their Alliance, or rather meet entireness with *Spain*, and by sundry Elective Kingdoms, which run necessarily upon them, shall be alwaies able to make Head against any Power in the World; and by their own State confining so immediately with the *Turks*, shall be necessarily enforced, laying other thoughts aside, to employ the utmost drop of their Blood to keep off. Next, whensoever the matter groweth to Election of a new Emperour, they shall alwaies have the casting Voice with them, or rather in them; having entangled the *States* of *Bohemia* in such Bonds and Promises, (besides, there is no other to make good Choice of) that they account of this Kingdom, as of a State half Hereditary. And lastly, their late Policy, now strengthened by usage, of declaring a King of *Romans*,

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in the Emperours life-time, whilst his presence and power may govern the action, assures them, that it shall alwaies pass with them roundly and quietly. The other ground of their hope, is the division of the Protestants, into their Factions of **Lutherans** and **Calvinists**, as they stile them: wherein the Ministers on each side, have so bestirred themselves, that the coal, which a wise man with a little moisture of his mouth, would soon have quenched, they with the wind of theirs, have contrarywise so enflamed, that it threatneth a great ruine and calamity of both sides. And though the Princes, and Heads of the weaker side in those parts, both **Palatinate** and **Lantgrave**, have with great judgement and wisdom, to allake those flames, imposed silence in that Point to the Ministers of their party, hoping the charity and discretion of the other sort, would have done the like; yet falls it out otherwise, both the *Lutheran* Preachers rage as bitterly against them in their Pulpits as ever, and their Princes and People have them in as great detestation, not forbearing to profess openly, they will return to the Papacy, rather than ever admit that **Sacrilegious** and **Rebellious** Pestilence; for these two Points are the ground of the quarrel, and the latter more scandalous at this day, than the former. And some one of their Princes, namely, the Administrator of *Saxony*, is strongly misdoubted to practice with the Emperor, for joyning the *Catholick* and the *Lutheran* Forces in one, and by

War,

War, to root out and extinguish the *Catholics*; the plausiblest motion to the Emperor, that could ever happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any Ray or agreement could be taken with the *Turks*, all *Germany* were in danger to be in an Uproar within it self, by intestine Dissension. Howbeit, all the *Lutherans* are not carried with this stern humour, but they only which are called the *Lutheran rigid*: The greater part perhaps, which are the *mollis Lutherani*, are quiet enough, neither account otherwise of *Catholics*, than of erring Brethren; whom the *Rigid* have (as is said) partly threatned to excommunicate, as *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks*. To this lamentable extremity, hath the headiness of their Ministers on both sides, brought it; while in the peremptoriness of their poor learning, they cannot endure any supposed Error in their Brethren, whereof themselves, even the best of them perhaps, if they were sifted, would be found to be full enough, (such take I to be the condition of all men in this world;) and in their ignorance of all actions, save of their Schools and Books, make more account of some empty ill shaped Syllogism, than of the peace of the Church, and happiness of the world: the end whereof will be, that their Enemies shall laugh, when themselves shall have cause to weep; unless the graciousness of God, stir up some worthy Princes of Renown and Reputation with both the Sides, to interpose their Wisdom, Industry and Authority, for the uniting these

these Factions, or at leastwise, for reconciling and composing these Differences in some collectible sort; a work of immortal Fame and Desert, and worthy of none but them, of whom this wicked base world is not worthy. But hereof shall have occasion to speak in his due place. For this place it sufficeth, that these intrinsecal quarrels are that which maketh their comon Enemies hold up their heads, which quickneth their hopes, to see the Blades of these Reformers drawn one against another; that themselves being called in to the beating down of the one part, may afterward in good time, assail also the other; in the mean season, planting in all places, their Colledges of **Jesuites**, as the only corrosive medicine, to sift out their Adversaries. Now on the other party, the hopes are also not few; besides their overtopping them so much in multitude and power. First the *German*, bearing a natural stiff hate to the *Italian*, for his winding and subtil Wit, which despiseth, and would ransack him, but that he opposeth a proud stoutness, and intractible obstinacie; which serving alwaies as a wall of defence to Simplicity, will hardly, what tampering soever the Princes make, be brought ever in heart to reflect the Papacy, whose Sleights and Devises they are thoroughly acquainted with, and have in more detestation, than any Nation whatsoever. And for their own inward dissensions, it is to be hoped, that though no course were taken to compound them, yet never will they be so mad, as

to decide them by a general open War on both sides, having Turk, Pope, and Emperour, who joyn them in friendship. For although the contentions of Brethren be bitterest, yet a common strong Enemy alwaies makes them friends again. And as for the Administrator so much suspected, who prooves as some say in these practices for his own greatness, his Authority is but short, and to expire within three years. Then for the having of an Emperour of some more indifferent Family, though their desire be in that Point of all other greatest, yet their hope I suppose is least. And that which is, seems to be grounded upon the **Statute of Colen**, wherein if the old Elector *Gharbarus Truchbes* should live so long, whom in that case they might by force restore to his place, from which he stands now by force ejected, yet retains his Claim still, and Style of Elector, or if some other of that See, might be induced to follow the steps of two of their Antecessors, who have turned Protestants; (of which could that place will be alwaies in danger, by reason of such vicinity, and interminking of their State with Protestant Princes, besides that in *Colen* itself the Religion hath already footings,) or at least wisely might be drawn to that civil indifferency, as in regard of preserving their freedom of Election, to change once in an age that family of **Austria**, wherein the Empire having continued these seven descents may in time be established, as by prescription. And lastly for the Jesuites, their great

great Patron and planter, the old Duke of Sabaudia, having now as is said, retired himself into their Colledge, and resigned his State to his Son *Maurice*, who it is thought doth disfavoure them as much as his Father doted on them; and this and other such changes may give stay to their proceedings, but to leave these hopefull speculations to both sides, and to take matters in terms they stand now; and may so continue; the benefit which the Repay may expect from the Empire rather to keep matters in that stay they are, than any way to restore it, where it hath been disposessed. For although these *Turkish Wars* should cease, which is not unlikely; considering the extreme nature of both the Emperours, who take more delight in Chambers, than in Fields: Yet shall our Christian Emperour be enforced still, in fortifying and maintaining garrison, all along his Frontiers, confining sundry hundred long leagues with the *Turk*, so to exhaust his own Treasure, and employ his People; as that he will not be able to do elsewhere any extraordinary matter, without he be extraordinary; which is never too ready. And time, which may produce many accidents in his favour, may also produce in his disfavour as many; and so many more, as the ground out of which in those parts they may grow, is manifoldly larger against him, than for him. And thus we have seen, how the Empire having continued as before, wherein the *Turks* have been as before, and even before may in time be established as before. And lastly for the *French*, their

their Advantages, I now shew themselves no more by War. The practice of Peace by partiality and injustice.

Now for the **Low Countries**, the Papacy hath two thirds with it; and of the **Swissers** and **Gillsons**, two thirds against it; of the **Swissers** also, the Protestants are lightly the wealthier, and the Papists, the more War-like; which may suffice for those parts.

Of **France** how much the better it is known unto us at home; so much the less shall I need to speak much in this place. Neither is it very easy to proportion the parties, by reason they of the Religion are so scattered in all places. Yet in **Poitou**, they have almost all; in **Gasconie**, an half; in **Languedoc**, **Normandy**, and other West-maritime Provinces, a reasonable strong party; as likewise in sundry **Mediterrane**, of which **Belinat** the chief. But whatsoever be the proportion of their number to their opposers, which is manifoldly inferiour, not one to twenty; their strength is such as the War have witnessed; and especially that at this day, after such massacring them, so general a rising of the whole Realm against them, by the utmost extremity of Fire and Sword, to exterminate them; they are esteemed to be stronger than at any time heretofore; in sum, so strong, that neither have their

their Adversaries, I trow, any great hope, and themselves no fear to be born down by War. That the practises of Peace by partiality and injustice in their suits litigious, which hath already sorely bitten and afflicted their Estates; by depriving them of place of Office and Honour in the Realm, by confining the exercise of their Religion into Chambers or remote Corners; did not impoverish, abase, and dishearten their party, and so withdraw those from them, which would otherwise stick to them; this is that which they have misdoubted, and which by the **Edict** now passed and verified, they have sought to remedy. But looking a little more attentively into this party, I find these as Conscience in what Religion soever dwell even in the midst of error breed an honesty of mind, and integrity of life and actions; in whom is a simplicity of so divine and pure virtue is the love of the Creator, which is the ground of all that merit the Name of Religious; so also that in them which affect the greatest singleness, and in a manner a very careless simplicity, in their Religion, as contenting themselves with the possession of the rich treasure of Truth, and for the preserving of it of themselves, recommending those cares to God only, yet tract of affliction, much misinterpreted over-reaching by subtilty of Adversaries, doth finally purge out those gross-winded humours, and engender a very cautious and advantageous wariness in all their proceedings; having learned by experience the wisdom of that Aphorism, that

a small error in the foundation and beginning of all things, doth prove in the proceeding and end of them a great mischief. As hath fallen out in these men: who do as far here out-go their opposites in all Civil Policies, as in othes places they of their Religion are lightly out-gone by them. Which next unto Divine Blessing, which accompanieth good Causes, where wickedness or wilful witlessness doth not bar against it; I account the chief reason of their present strength and assurance. By their providence in their Capitulations, by their resoluteness in their Executions, by their Industry and Dexterity in all occasions presented, they have possessed themselves of an exceeding great number of strong Towns and places: there is scant any Office or Estate can fall void, but they lay in by all means to get into it; they have their Synods for their Church Affairs, their Conventions and Counsels for their Civil: their people is warlike, and so will they continue them. Their only want is, of a Prince of the Bloud, to grace them. For as for Leaders, a matter of so main importance; they are still above their Adversaries: having besides those three of principal and known name, sundry other in Gascigny of less place and degree, but in Skill and Prowess, not inferiour to the best. In fine, they have learned the wisdom of *Spes sibi quisque*, and *μὴ λυγροὶ ἀνιστάιν*; the contrary whereof before, brought them so near to their ruine. But now touching the weakness of them of the Roman Religion, in comparison

of that strength which their multitude should promise, much more might be said. First, one great part of them are in heart of the Reformed Religion, though for worldly respects they hold in with the other: which also will begin to disclose themselves daily, those things being now settled in reasonable good sort, which have hitherto been but in motion. Secondly, they are not all Papists that hold with the Mass. But the Catholicks are here divided, into as different opinions, and in as principal matters of their Religion, as they esteem them, as the Protestants in any place that ever I heard of: although their discretion and moderation is such, as not to interrupt the common Concord with private opinionativeness. The ground of which disagreement in Opinion (as I take it) is the ancient diversity between the **Roman Church** and the **Gallicane**; which, as in many of their Ceremonies, it differs much from the *Roman*, (as to omit sundry other in the **Priests Lotions** at Mass, and in their walking hymns at solemn **Vattins** and **Vespers**;) and in some of them, rather runs with the Usage of the Greek Church, (as in their **Holy bread** on Sundayes, for them that do not Communicate) so also in the very Head Point of their Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, it holdeth the **General Council** to be above the Pope; which Opinion, is at this day very current and strong, even among such Catholicks, as favour the Papacy. Which I reckon for the first Difference, touching the State of their Church:

Church: which calleth into question in whom the very sovereignty and supremacy thereof is placed. Another sort are there, which hold their Church for the true Church, (although they acknowledge sundry errors and abuses of less importance, both in Doctrine and Practice:) but for the Pope, they hold resolutely, that he is that **Antichrist**, which sitting in the **Temple**, that is in the true Church of **God**, (for even by his very being **Antichrist**; some prove they are the true Church;) doth advance himself above God; as they think apparent, by dispensing with the Law of God: by merchandizing of Souls in his Purgatory Pardons; releasing them in another world, whom Divine Sentence hath bound; as also by his Indulgences for Sins in this world; and not least of all, by his arrogating the not possibility of erring; being a sacred property peculiar unto God; and not communicated but only at times, to his extraordinary Prophets, as all Churches in the world; besides the *Roman*, acknowledge. This Sect spreads far, and as themselves will say, of the Learned sort, three parts of four, consent in this Opinion. And they which are most devoted to the Pope, and in that respect, do hate this Crew above all other, confess that the Lawyers are greatly infected with it: in which regard, they also term these, as in way of disgrace, the **Parliament Catholics**. These Opinions, thus prevailing amongst the Catholics of *France*, it is not to be marvelled, that the Realm was so ready upon the Popes refusal, to re-bless the

King upon his sudden reconversion, to withdraw themselves utterly from the obedience of his See, and to erect a new **Patriarch** over all the *French* Church, the now **Archbishop of Buzes**; who was ready to accept it: and but that the Pope in fear thereof, upon a second deliberation did hasten his Benediction, it had been effected to his utter disgrace and decay, as the very proffer and probability of it will alwaies hold him in awe, and in good temper of carriage, towards this wavering Kingdom, and content to bear indifferent sway with them, in any thing. As on the contrary side, his great doubt of the *French* unsoundness to him at the Heart, will cause him the less to favour any of their footings in *Italy*. Now these men, though they dislike also of the Reformed Religion, as having brought in an extream Innovation of all things, in stead of a moderate Reformation, of what was justly blameable, yet will carry themselves alwaies of likelihood in an indifferent neutrality, rather than by extinguishing the one extream, to over-strengthen the other. A third part of this side we may make the **Royalists**; who as much as they dislike the attempts of the Protestants, in alteration of Religion; so much, and more, do they hate those mischievous courses taken against them, by their Adversaries; which have threatned so near a ruine to the whole State of the Kingdom, that it may seem half a Miracle, that it hath ever recovered, being so long a time at the very point, either of shivering in pieces, (as hath hapned heretofore, to
other

other Countries in like case,) or for rendering it self into the servitude of the hateful name of their Neighbours. This part having by experience learned the wisdom to know, that the quarrel of Religion, is but the Cloak of Ambition, for the great ones at this day; that many traiterous intents, pass under Catholick pretences; that the Protestant will be alwaies a sure enemy to the *Spaniards*, and to all his Favorites, Partizans, and Pensionaries; that whilst he may be suffered to enjoy liberty of Conscience, without any disabling, or disgrace in the State, he will be in all occasions ready to serve the King to his utmost, and forward by deserts, to maintain his favour; that it is not so easie a matter to extirpate them, as some think, having taken so deep root in the Realm as they have, besides the favour of great Princes, their Neighbours abroad; who are engaged and embarked in the very same cause; and that although it were to be wished for the happiness of the Kingdom, which during this diversity and dissention in Religion, shall breed greater security to their neighbours than to themselves, that if it were possible some course were taken for a final reuniting of all in one profession; yet this being not to be hoped for, in this exasperation of minds on both sides, must be comended to time, which works out many things; to occasion, which effects even wonders on a sudden; and finally, to some general good way, to be undertaken by the joint consents of wise and worthy Princes, for effecting like unity over all Christendom, if it may be.

In these considerations, this part which with his appurtenances is now the greatest, will never advise the King to become Head of a Party again, so long as he may be absolute Commander of the whole: having found that siding course in such strength of both part to be a false ground, and ruinous to them that take it. To these may be annexed those moral men, as they call them, who think not these diversities of Opinions of any such moment, as that they ought to dis-join them, who in the love of God, in the belief of the fundamental Articles of Christian Faith, in Integrity of Life, and Honesty of Conversation, (which are the greatest Bonds,) remain united, much less, that they ought to enrage mens minds so far, as to cause them to take Arms to decide the Quarrel; which are not those Instruments wherewith either Error should be raised, or Truth proved, or Religion planted. And finally, to this Party may be added, all those who affect a quiet World, and Peace, above glorious Troubles; which is the desire of those lightly, who in a middle degree of Condition, possess also a moderate temper of affections; which is ordinarily the greatest part, in all well ordered Common-Wealths; and withall, the far surest, and firmest to the State. None of those will be easily drawn to enter into any violent course against those of the Religion, so long as they have the discretion by no jealousy to provoke them. The last part is indeed of their vowed and sworn Enemies, the **Leaguers** and **Zelers**, as some name them; once the greatest and most

most favoured part of the Realm, at this day not so; their plausible pretences being now dismasked, and the disastrous success of their disordered actions, which hath brought things to the very counterpoint of that they aimed, and left nothing but a memory of much trouble and misery, of the wasting of the People, the sacking of Cities, the harrowing and desolating of the Country, together with the imminent danger of the utter overthrow of the Realm for ever, making them hateful and despised in those very same minds, wherein they were erst whiles enshrined with all devotion, which reasons have so abated also, the haughtiness of their hopeless Heads, who lately breathed nothing but Crowns and Scepters, but glory to their followers, but vengeance to their enemies: that now they are content to range with their fellows, and have turned their song of Sovereignty into a more peaceable and calm tune of *nec veterum memini latorum malorum*. Howbeit the right Zeal, men of the basest sort lightly, and possessed with Friars, who fill them with very furies against the Religion, are as malicious and rageful against the Protestants as ever, and thirst after nothing so much, as to embrue themselves once again in their blood; they stick not to profess, and indeed would, had they heads and opportunities to accomplish. The number of these is exceeding great and desperate; but impuissant, base and broken. With these join in Heart, in a manner, all the Clergy; who count the Religion and Reformation their bane, and the very calamity

of their estate for ever. A great error among other, as was observed by the worthy Chancellour, *MONSIEUR DE L'HOSPITAL*, in the plots and proceedings of the first Protestants of *France*, to alienate so respected, and so potent a part of the Realm, by leaving them no hope of any tollerable condition under their reformed Estate; whom, by following the wiser courses of their moderate neighbours, they might have gained to them in greatest part, as others did.

Now this part, which are the only assured Enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they may make account, that they will not fail them at a need, doth come short of them perhaps in strength; though in multitude, far exceed them. Wherein this is also not to be left unconsidered, that as in the body of man, the humours draw still to the fore: so in a state, all averse and discontented, do associate themselves lightly to the part grieved and persecuted.

This take I to be the present estate of the Factions in *France*, for matter of Religion; submitting my opinion, as in all other things, to be censured and reformed by whosoever, with more experience and deeper judgement, shall have waded in, and weighed these actions and considerations. But to make my far reach of conjecture for the time to come, that will I not be so sawcy, as to do in *French Affairs*; whose Mines are so full of Quick-silver, that their nimble Wits would take it perhaps in dudgeon, that any should imagine the would
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plod on in any one tenour, with that dull constancy which their heavier metall'd neighbors do use; being able in freshest experience to boast, that their lightness of spirit, and mutability of resolutions hath suddenly recovered them from those terms of extremity, which in the hands of any constant Nation of the world, had been a very long cure, if not desperate and cureless. But verily this diversity and dissention in Religion, is still a very great weakness and disease in their State, and such as will be alwaies a matter of jealousy among themselves, of assurance for their neighbours, of joy to their enemies.

Of Lorrain and Savoy.

For **Lorrain** and **Savoy**, with the **Malleis**, who confine on *Savoy*, they run wholly with the stream of the Papacy; though in both parts there are store of Protestants, and that of men of the better sort, but without any publick exercise of their Religion, save only in some few out-skirts of *Savoy* near *Berna* and *Geneva*. What Madam the Kings Sister may affect in *Lorrain*, or what contrariwise her self may suffer, time only by trial is able to ascertain.

An Estimate of the strength of the Papacy.

These particulars thus admitted, it will be no great difficulty to make some comparative Estimate

mate of the whole strength of the Papacy, in respect of the Protestants, being the part now only on foot against them. For as for the Greek Church, the case is evident, that though in number it be granted that they exceed any other; yet are they so oppressed under Turkish tyranny, or removed so far off, as the *Muscovites*, and some others, that they come not into any account in the survey of the strength which we now speak of.

But for the Western or Latine Church, in the general division into the part Reformed and part Papal, admitting them in number and circuit of Territory to be near equal (as considering the huge compass of *Germany*, and that Empire possessed so wholly in a manner by the Protestants, I can make no other proportion) in other points we shall find great odds and advantages for strength in different kinds in both sides. First, the Kingdoms and States of the *Romish* part, lying nearer the Sun, are not only in Riches, both Natural of their Soyl, and accessory by greater opportunity to traffick to all parts of the World, by manifold degrees superiour to their Northern adversaries, but also in fineness and subtilty of wit; which having that other instrument of wealth to work by, doth far pass in all ordinary and orderly actions, that robustness of body, and puissance of person, which is the only fruit of strength that those colder climes do yield. Though sometimes extraordinarily it is known, and to be granted

granted, that those septentrional Inundations, by their very violence and multitude, as in people more generative, have so wildly deluviated over all the South; that as a raging tempest they have ravaged and ruined those powerful and flourishing Empires in the suddenness of an instant, which had been many ages in rearing and spreading over the world.

But these have been no other than as torrents or brooks of passage; soon up, soon down; soon come, soon over-gone. Neither have the Northern people ever yet for all their multitude & strength had the honour of being founders or possessors of any great Empire, so unequal is the combate between force and wit, in all matters of durable and grounded establishment. Another point of great advantage in the self-same side is the uniting of their forces into fewer heads and mightier: which uniting is a very redoubling of strength in all things. They have on their part first & principally the Pope himself, seated royally and pontifically in the midst and chiefest, regarding the rich Sun in his glorious rising, and the Moon in the height of her beautiful walk: on his left hand, the Emperor, the ancient remains of honour: on his right, the King of *Spain*, the new Planet of the West; at his back, the *French* King, the eldest Son of the Church; all mighty Monarchs, opposed as brazen Walls against his enemies on all sides: round about him are the lesser Princes and States of *Italy*, as matter rather of solace and honour than otherwise,

wise, and to exercise himself upon, as his humors or favour or displeasure shall advise. Whereas on the contrary part, the only puissant Prince in any comparison with those other, is **her Majesty of England**, whose State is yet so divided from all the rest of the world, that it is the less fit in that respect for the rest to make head at. Again, the other have the Pope, as a common Father, adviser, and conductor to them all; to reconcile their enmities, to appease their displeasures, to decide their differences, and finally to unite their endeavors in one course, to instance, to press them, to remove stops, to add encouragement, by aid from himself; and above all things to draw their Religion by consent of Councils to an unity or likeness and conformity in all places; a principal pillar of stay to the unlearned multitude, of glory to themselves, of upbraiding to their enemies. Whereas on the contrary side, the Protestants are as severed or rather scatter'd troops, each drawing a diverse way; without any means to pacifie their quarrels, to take up their controversies, without any bond to knit them, their forces and courses in one. No Prince with any pre-eminence of jurisdiction above the rest: no Patriarch one or more to have a common superintendence or care of their Churches, to be Solicitors of Princes for correspondence & unity: no ordinary way to assemble a general Council of their part, the only hope remaining ever to assuage their contentions, and the only desire of the wisest and best minds among them. Every Church

Church almost of theirs hath his several form and frame and government; his several Liturgy and fashion of Service; and lastly, some several opinion from the rest; which though be in themselves matters of no great moment, being no differences essential or in any capital point; yea and some of them might serve perhaps to the Churches great benefit; yet have they been, are, and will be, so long as they continue in their present terms, causes of dislikes, of jealousies, of quarrels and dangers. In sum, what unity soever is among them, proceeds only from the meer force and virtue of V^erit^y, which all parts seek for; which though it be incomparably the best and blessedest, and that which alone doth unite the Soul with God; yet for order in the world, for quiet in the Church, for avoiding of scandal, for propagating and encrease, of what great power that other unity is which proceeds from Authority, the Papacy, which stands by it alone, may teach us: In fine, both concurring attain the praise of perfection. These then are the advantages of the part of the Papacy. But now one disadvantage (such is the nature of all things) impeacheth and dejecteth all other their forces; and that is, their vicinity with their grand Enemy the *Turk*; who by Land and Sea presseth hard upon them, both Emperour, and Pope, and Monarch of *Spain*; and driveth them oftentimes to such extasies and devices, that *Spain* hath no other shift to clear himself, than by diverting him upon his own dear brethren

brethren of *Austria*, and causing him to fall foul upon his friend the Emperour; wherein he is driven yet to a twofold charge, both in bribing the *Basha's* to draw their Lord to *Germany*, and in supplying then the Emperour with money to withstand him. The Emperour on the other side calleth for aid of the Protestants, without which the whole Empire were in danger of wracking. The Pope, who above all other, is in deepest fear, though not in the nearest; knowing that the final mark which the Turk shoots at is *Italy*, as thinking that to be the Lover now only remaining to be set up for the accomplishment and perfection of his Empire; and that his Wars with the Emperour are but to open that Land-passage, forasmuch as by Sea he hath ever proved the weaker; bestirs himself on all hands, in the best fort he is able, both in sending such aid as his proportion will bear, and especially in soliciting the Princes of his part to enter into a common League and War against him; giving overture of like desire for the Protestants also. But the Protestants would know what security of quiet they shall have from himself first, their near and stern and unappealable enemy; before they waste out themselves in giving aid unto him, against a common enemy indeed, but one who is farthest off from them of all other, who as now is desirous enough to entertain their friendship, and who at the worst hand carrieth no more evil hatred against them

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and their Profession, neither condemneth their Religion more than the Pope their fellow-Christian.

Then for his Catholicks the *Polakers*, they clearly slip collar; both for the natural hatred which as neighbours, they bear the *Germans*; and for that they are in peace and amity with the *Turk*, paying him a certain tribute; and although his near neighbours also, yet not in his way; which is not to the North, but to the Sun, and South parts, and mainly and plainly to the conquests of *Italy*. The *Venetians* are content also to live rather as free tributaries to the *Turk*, as they now are, than as slaves to *Spain*; who, in joyning with them heretofore in Leagues against the *Turk*, with Pope *PIUS QUINTUS*, did contrary to his oath and bond forsake them, and suffer them to be beaten, being left alone to the *Turks* fury; and all this, to the end that having their State utterly maimed and broken by the *Turk*, they might be constrained wholly to cast themselves, their Signory and City into the arms and embracements of *Spain* for safeguard. With this unchristian treachery have they charged him heretofore; though now all being quiet, they are content to put an unacceptable motion to silence, by demand of impossible conditions of security.

Then for *France* it is far off, and looks that the nearer be, as they ought, most forward first; and requires also with reason some breathing time to receive himself, after his weariness by his late pangs.

Lastly,

Lastly, *Spain* hath so much to do with *England* and the revolted Provinces, that he thinks the time gained that the *Turk* forbears him. So that the end is, the whole burden must rest on the Emperour, with that small help which *Italy* and some other yield him. And were it not his good fortune or rather Gods good providence, that the very same plagues which have ruined the glory & grace of Christendom, should now also infect the grand enemy thereof, namely, **Effeminateness** and **Abric**; whereof the one is the corruption of all sound deliberations, and the other the quailer of all manly executions; which prevailing in his State as they do at this day, give hope that his tyranny draweth towards his period: and for this present provide so, that a weak defendant may shift better, having but a cowardly assailant: the matter would have grown to that extremity by this time, as would have called the King of *Spain* with all his forces to some more honourable enterprizes than he hath hitherto undertaken. And this is the bridle which holds in the Papacy with all his followers, from any universal proceeding by force against the Protestants: who herein are greatly advantaged above them, in that either their opposites lie between them and the *Turk*, or their Countries casting so much as they do towards the North, are out of his way, and no part of his present aim. But these advantages and disadvantages of the Papacy equally weighed, I suppose this disadvantage more mischievous for the present, as proceeding from

from outward force in the hands of an enemy, and the other advantages more stable for continuance, as springing from the inward strength of their own wealth and order.

What Unity Christendom may hope for.

This then being so, and that all things considered, there falls out, if not such an indifferency and equality, yet at leastwise such a proportion of strength on both sides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by war to subdue them (seeing as the Proverb is, a dead woman will have four to carry her forth, much less will able men be beaten easily out of their homes) and since there is no appearance of ever forcing an Unity, unless Time which eats all things, should bring in great alterations: it remaineth to be considered, **what other kind of Unity poor Christendome may hope for**, whether Unity of Verity, or Unity of Charity, or Unity of Perswasion, or Unity of Authority, or Unity of Necessity; there being so many other kinds and causes of concord. A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet withal in all Countries, not many in number, but sundry of them of singular Learning and Piety; whose Godly Longings to see Christendome re-united in the love of the Author of their Name above all things, and next in brotherly correspondences and amity, as becometh those who under the chief service of one Lord, in profession of one ground

and foundation of faith, do expect the same final reward of Glory, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of Peace, rejecteth all spirits of contention from attaining it; have entred into a meditation whether it were not possible, that by the travel and mediation of some calmer minds than at this day do usually write or deal on either side, these flames of controversies might be extinguished or allaked, and some godly or tolerable peace re-established in the Church again. The earnestness of their virtuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an opinion of possibility that it might be wrought; considering first that besides infinite other points not controverted, there is an agreement in the general foundation of Religion, in those Articles which the twelve Apostles delivered unto the Church, perhaps not as an abridgment only of the Faith, but as a touchstone also of the faithful for ever: that whilst there was an entire consent in them, no dissent in other Opinions only should break Peace and Communion: And secondly, considering also there are in great multitude on both sides (for so are they undoubtedly) men virtuous and learned, fraught with the love of God & of his truth above all things, men of memorable integrity of heart & affection, whose lives are not dear unto them, much less their labours, to be spent for the good of Gods Church and people; by whose joint-endavors and single & sincere proceedings in common conference for search of truth, the

honour

honourable Unity of Verity might be established. But if the multitude of crooked and side respects, w^{ch} are the only clouds that eclipse the truth from shining now brightly on the face of the world, & the only prickles that so enfloward mens affections as not to consider the best, do cause that this chief Unity find small acceptaton, as is to be feared, at least-wise that the endless & ill fruits of these contentions, which tend mainly to the encrease of Atheism within, of Mahometism abroad, which inobstinate the Jew, shake the faith of the Christian, taint the better minds with acerbity, and load the worse with poison, which break so out into their actions which themselves think holiest, namely, the defence of Gods truth, which each side challengeth, that in thinking they offer up a pleasing sacrifice to God, they give cause of wicked joy unto his and the irenemy; that these woful effects, with very tediousness and weariness may draw both parts in fine to some tolerable reconciliation, to some **Unity of Charity**, at leastwise to some such as may be least to eithers prejudice. Let the one give over their worshipping of Images, their adoring and offering supplications to Saints, their offensive Ceremonies, their arbitrary Indulgences, their using of a Language not understood in their Devotions; all which themselves will confess not to be necessary, to be orders of the Church, and such as at pleasure she may dispence with; yea, Pope **LEMENT** the vijth. gave some hope to the *French King* that he would not be stiffe in things

of this quality, and that respect of time might
 justify the alteration; and some of the later Popes
 condescend to them of **Babaria** the Cup in the
 Sacrament, hoping that would content them;
 which since, they or their Successors have again
 inhibited: On the other side, let the Protestants,
 such at leastwise as think to purge out that negativ
 and contradictory humour, or thinking they are
 then rightest, when they are unlikest the Papacy;
 then nearest to God when farthest from *Rome*; let
 them look with the eye of Charity upon them, as
 well as of severity, and they shall find in them
 some excellent orders for government, some sin-
 gular helps for an encrease of godliness and devo-
 tion, for the conquering of sin, for the perfe-
 cting of Virtue; And contrariwise in themselves,
 looking with a more single and less indulgent eye
 than they do, they shall find that there is no such
 absolute or unreprouable perfection in their
 Doctrine and Reformation, as some dreamers in
 the pleasing view of their own actions do fancy.
 Neither ought they to think it strange, they
 should be amiss in any thing; but rather a ve-
 ry miracle, if they were not so in many. For if
 those ancient Fathers and Sages of the Church,
 with greater helps, being nearer the times of
 purity, with equal industry, so spending their
 whole lives with less cause of unsincerity, having
 nothing to seduce them; notwithstanding were not
 able in the weakness and blindness of humane na-
 ture in this world, to soar up so high alwaies in
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the search of truth, as to find out her right seat in the height of the heavens; but sometimes took Error dwelling nearer them, instead thereof; how less likely that our age, more entangled with the world, farther removed from the usage of those faultless institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutual controversies and conflicts, should attain to that excellency and perfection of knowledge; which it may be, God hath removed from mans reach in this world, to humble and encrease his longing desire towards another world? and as the present time doth discover sundry errors in the former, so no doubt will the future in that which is now present. So that ignorance and error, which seldom go severed, being no other than unseparable companions of man, so long as he continueth in this terrestrial Pilgrimage: it can be no blemish in them to revise their doctrine, & to abate the rigor of certain speculative opinions, especially touching the eternal decrees of God, the quality of mans nature, the use of his works; wherein some of their chief Authors have run to such an utter opposition to the *Romish* Doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withal, yea, & many of their own to rest very ill satisfied. The seat of Truth is aloft, of Virtue in the midst; both places of Honour: but neither truth nor virtue draw to an utter extremity. And as in some points of doctrine, so much more in their practice; in order of government, and Ecclesiastical degrees; in solemnities and stateliness in the Service of God; in

some exercises of Piety, Devotion and Humility, especially in set fastings accompanied with due contrition of heart and prayer; besides, many other Ceremonies; they might easily without any offence of conscience at all, frame to draw somewhat neerer to their opposites than now they are. Which yielded on both sides a general and indifferent Confession and sum of Faith; an uniform Liturgy, or not repugnant, if diverse; a like, or at least-wise not incorrespondent form of Church-Government, to be made out of the points which both agreed in; and to be established so universally in all Christian Dominions, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, this only their Divines in pulpit should teach, and this their people in Churches should exercise; which doing, the Unity of Communion should remain unviolated. For all other questions, it should be lawful for each man so to believe as he found cause; not condemning either with such peremptoriness as is the guise of some men of overweening concepts: and the handling of all Controversies for their final compounding, to be confined to the Schools, to Councils, and to the Learned Languages, which are the proper places to try them, and fittest tongues to treat them in.

Of Unity of Authority.

And all this to be done by some general Council,

Council, assembled and composed indifferently out of both the sides; mens minds being before-hand prepared and directed to this Issue and Conclusion. But now if either the obstinateness of the Popes ambition, or the wilfulness or scrupulosity of any opinionative Ministers, should oppose against and impeach this Unity of Charity; then the ~~Unity of Authority~~ to be interposed to assist it: that is, the Princes of Christendom to press this Agreement, to constrain the Pope to content himself with that temporal state, which the skill of his Antecessors hath got and left him; and for his spiritual to be such as the ancient Councils had limited: and for all other gainfayers, to silence or punish them. Now for the Princes which jointly consent to do this, how many, how weighty motives do induce them? The Service of Christ, the honour of Christian Religion, and the peace of Christendom, the strengthening of Christians, and the repulsing and overthrow of all Turks and Infidels. And these in general. In particular, the assuring of their own lives and persons, which so many under pretence of Religion daily conspire against: the quiet and secure enjoying of their rich States and Kingdoms; the transmitting of them to their posterity without question or opposition; and lastly, the delivery of their miserable subjects (which should be dear unto them as Children) from those extream vexations of spirit and body, and those inestimable calamities in

their estates and conditions, wherewith these dissensions in Religion and effects thereof do now afflict them. And this is in general the sum of the discourse of that kind of people: which doth shew them as they are, for the most part to be Protestants, though perhaps not running jump with their side in every thing; although many of the other part are carried also with the same good zeal and affection to the like desire and intention; but these are of the more moderate sort of the Catholikes; & not of their Clergy, & such lightly as have but an indifferent conceit of the Popes claim and proceedings, of which sort among the wiser part of the Laity there are very many. But now in exacter consideration of this motion, there appear for the effecting of it sundry difficulties so great, that they draw to be next neighbours to so many impossibilities, whereof I will mention only two of the chief. For as for the thing it self, I must confess for my own part, the greatest desire I have in the world is to see Christendom reconciled in the Badge of their Profession (seeing Unity is consecrated to Verity, & both to God) and that without the ruine and subversion of either part; which cannot be done but to the unexpressible mischief and misery on both sides, and with the utter enhazzarding of both Christendom and Christianity: and think any kind of peace were better than these strifes, which did not prejudice that higher peace between God and mens consciences. Then for the way they purpose, it seemeth for

for the generality of it, there is no other now left; seeing the opposition of extremes is no way defensible, but by extinguishing the one, or drawing both to some temper and mildness of State. But in this case, two things do clean dishearten this hope. The first is the untractableness of the Papacy to this course, who in so many Conferences, as they have had in this age, have alwayes ere they departed, very plainly discovered, that they came not with such intent, as to yield any thing for Peace, much less for Truths sake, but only to assay, either by manifold perswasion and entreaty to reduce, or otherwise by wit to entrap and disgrace their adversaries; and if some one of them have shewed himself more flexible at any time, it hath been his utter discredit with his own party ever after. Which sterner proceeding of theirs, admitting the fundamental Positions, whereon the Papacy is built, is good and necessary. For if Divine Authority do concur with them, in all their Ordinances, Gods Spirit assist them in all their Decisions, all possibility of erring, be exempted from their Pope and Church; what remains there, but only that they teach, we believe; they command, and the world obey? Indeed, in humane Governments, where Reason is shut out, there Tyranny thrusts in; but where God commands, to ask Reason, is presumption, to oppose Reason, flat rebellion. To this miserable necessity, have those assertions tied them, which they have laid for their foundation; miserable to themselves, and

miserable

miserable to the whole world. For what can be more miserable to any ingenuous and good mind, than to have entangled himself in such a labyrinth of perplexity and mischief, as to have left no place of acknowledging his error, without ruining his Estate; when as error is only purged by due acknowledging, and doubled by denying it. And to what a miserable push have they driven the World, either in their pleading against them with such force of Evidence, or in their learning of them, and joyning with them, as to stop the mouth of the one, and hang the Faith of the other, on this unnatural Paradox; **I and my Church, cannot possibly err**, and this must you take upon our own words to be true. For as for their conjectural evidence out of the Scripture, there seems to be as much or more for the King of *Spain* not erring, as there is for the Popes: it being said by the *Wiseſt*, that the heart of the King, is in the hands of God; a divine sentence is in his lips, and his mouth shall not transgress in Judgement.

But now as by this means, they have debarred themselves from acknowledging, and consequently from controlling any error in Faith and Doctrine: so on the other side, to reform any great matter in practice, were to open the eyes and mouths of all men against them; who now in the obedience of their blindness stick fast unto them. Let them suspend from hence-forward the worshipping of Images, the fleeing to the Patronage of Angels
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and Saints, by Vows and Prayers: besides the great loss which it would bring unto the Train in daily Offerings to their Saints and Images; what a jealousie would it breed in the heads of their own, that they had led the world all this while on the blind side, and that other things perhaps were introduced for Gain, and corruptly contrived, as well as these. Then for their adversaries, their own saying is, Yield one thing to them, and yield all; sith all hangs upon the same pin, and by the same string that any one doth. So that it seemeth not to have been unwisely conceived by him, who said, that to perswade the Pope to any such reformation, was to perswade him to yield up his Keys and Crown, and to return into the order of his Predecessors, and other Patriarchs: which to do, as yet he sheweth no intention.

And although some one Pope should happen to be better affected, yet would it not prevail unto any great proof, being sure that his nearest, both Counsellors and Officers, his Cardinals and Courtiers, yea, his Church and whole State would oppose against him. Then to hope, that though the Pope and his See should withstand it, yet the Learned of his side, might be induced in other places to accept, and to apply themselves to some treaty of accord; I dare avouch, they know them not, which have that conceit of them. For although it were perhaps, not untruly said by a great Clerk of their own, that the Popes not erring was but an opinion of Policy, and not of Theology; to give
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stay to the Laity, not stop to the Divines, of whom, in such infinite Controversies and jarrings, about Interpretations of Texts, and Conclusions of Science, wherein many have spent a large part of their lives, never any yet went, neither at this day, doth go to be resolved by the Pope; as knowing it to be true, which their own Law delivereth, that in holiness any old woman, in knowledge many a Friar might out-go the Pope; but in Power and Authority the whole World was under him: yet at this day, they do so generally all cling unto him, and draw by his line, (as having no hope, either of standing against their opposites, but only by him; or of unity amongst themselves, but only in him;) that touch him, and touch them; yea, they think at least-wise, some of them, that rejected Name of Papist, to be as good a Name, and more necessary at this day, than that of Catholick; the one shewing their Unity only with the Body, and the other with the Head of the Church, which is now more needfull. It remains, that Princes take the matter in hand, and constrain the Pope and others, to yield to some such accord. Indeed, this were an only right way to effect it. For Reason is a good Orator, when it hath force to back it. But where are these Princes? They dream of an old world, and of the Heroical times, who imagine that Princes will break their sleeps for such purposes. If there were at this day, a DAVID in Spain, a JOSEPH in France, an EZECHIAS in Italy, a

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CONSTANTINE in *Germany*; the matter were ended in very short time. But take them as they are, and as they are like to be; being brought up in the midst of their Factions and Flatteries, where they seldom hear Truth, and if a good motion by mischance, be set on foot by one part, it is sure to be streight crossed through the watchfull and industrious envie of the other: the world may hold it self reasonably happy and content, if the Civil State be upheld in any tollerable terms, and not think that they should care greatly for reforming the Church, and much less for the uniting of the State Ecclesiastical, the dissentions whereof have, and daily serve so many mens turns.

And although it is to be acknowledged, and thankfully commemorated, that this age hath not been so utterly barren of good Princes, but that some have deserved to be enrolled among those Worthies: yet the ambition and encroaching humours of certain, and want of correspondence, requisite in other, have stopped perhaps, those honourable thoughts and designs, which might have else been employed for the universal good of Christendom. In sum, there is small hope remaining on this part; the world having extinguished the care of the publick good, by an over-care of their private; and each projecting to pass his own time smoothly over in pleasure, and recommending posterity to the Stars and Destiny. These reasons, together with the long continuance of this division, whereby both parts are formalized,

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and settled in their oppositions; in so much, that at this day, they are but very few, in comparison of former times, that are gained either way; do make me greatly despair of any success by that course: and so esteem of that plot, as an honest-hearted desire, but no probable design; and as a Cabinet discourse of speculative consideration, which practice in the world, and experience doth need to rectifie.

Of Necessity, pressing to Unity.

The next point is, whether **Necessity**, which over-rules all frowardness, and commands all sturdiness of humours and passions, may not **press to some Unity**; if the *Turk* still growing, as hitherto he hath done, leave no hope for Christendom to subsist, but in their inward Concord. It is true, that a forreign enemy is a reconciler of Brethren, and that common danger holds them together, so long as it lasteth, who else would flee asunder upon every light occasion. But herein methinks it cometh first to be considered, whether the *Turk* be so fearfull a Monarch, as is commonly conceived, especially since his late so huge enlargement towards the East. That which most men esteem in him the grand cause of error, seemeth to me a chief argument of the contrary, at this present: and that is the very hugeness of the Empires. For Empires are not then always at their strongest, when at their biggest, there being a certain due proportion in all things, which they breaking that exceed, as well as they come short of; may be counted

counted to be huge and vast, not great; since that is great properly, which is great in his actions, which are as often impeached by unweildiness in the big, as by weakness in the little. But if to this be adjoined, as it sometimes falls out, that there be but a little Soul to move this vast body, (which maketh some of the biggest men to be neither the wisest nor valiantest;) and that is, that the Government, which is the Soul of a State, be scant and feeble: not able to embrace nor to order so huge affairs: then is there no other greater presage of ruine, than very massiness it self, which every strong push or juttle makes reel & totter, for want of that inward strength which were requisite to hold it steddly. And this take I to be the State of the Turkish Empire at this day: which being a meer Tyranny, as aiming only at the mightiness and security of their great Lord, the sole absolute Commander, without any respect to the benefit of the people under him, save only so far forth as may serve to bear up his greatness; and for that cause he in his jealousy and distrust of his own, keeping his Territories half desolate, and uninhabited; his Subjects without heads of Nobility to lead them, without hearts to encourage them to seek delivery: abasing them by all kind of bestial education, and oppressing them by all sorts of extortion and outrage, giving the Lands where he conquereth, to his Souldiers and **Ci-marrs**: which scattered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the only contented people,
and

and only strength in effect he hath, as being bound by their Tenures to serve in his War, whithersoever he calls them; and without his charge: This being his state, it is clear, that the wildness, and lying waste of his Countrey, is to the great diminishing of his own Wealth and Revenue: which is less than some one of our Christian Princes at this day, though his Empire much larger than all theirs together: the unpopulousness, together with the baseness & feebleness of such as are, makes that no one Country is defence for it self, but must have the concurrence of many of the rest to assist it; and lastly, the huge Circuit of his Soyl and Confinnes, embracing as is esteemed, eight thousand Miles of Land, and of Sea as many, is cause that his **Armies** cannot assemble together, but in very long time, wherein opportunities are often lost, besides the tiring both of themselves and their Horses, ere they arrive. And the truth hereof, is assured by fresh experience, he having done no great matter in all this War of *Hungary*, though none to speak of, but *Germany*; with some small help of *Italy*, have opposed against him. But if we farther consider the effeminateness of the Education of their great Lords in these times; a thing which they are advised and constrained unto, even contrary oftentimes, to the manliness of their own natures, (and all to keep the Father from jealousy of his own Son, whose braveness of mind and warlikeness is still suspected;) and use having soaked once into their bones in youth, doth for

for ever after loose the sinews of their manly dispositions, and subject them to the softness and baseness of pleasures: considering also the avarice and corruption, which reigns there; all Peaces and Wars, all Friendships and Enmities, all Favours and Wrongs, all Counsels and Informations, being grown to be saleable: If these be, as they are, the signs of a diseased, and prognosticates of a dying Monarchy, much more of a Tyranny; then surely, have we not now so great cause to dread him, as to blame our selves and our wranglings, and vility, who chuse thus in practising, to exterminate each other, to trace out an unhonourable and fruitless life, at the end finding our selves in the very same or worse terms, than when we began; rather then establishing first a firme accord at home, to attempt with united love zeal and forces, so just, so Christian, so honourable, so rich a War. And verily, if but our Princes confining upon him, though agreeing among themselves for the most in Religion, were not so strangely infected with emulations, and home-ambitions, as to condescend to pay Tribute to the *Turk* in several, for so do they as a Redemption each of their Peace, (which yet hath no longer assurance than his pleasure, which with double as much under-hand Bribes and Presents must be daily sweetned;) and which is yet worse, when his list comes to invade any one of them, (as he doth for his very exercise, and avoiding tumults at home;) the rest hold off from giving succour to their Neighbours,

for fear of drawing a revenge upon themselves some other time; which is the case of the *Polemians* and *Venetians* at this present, who scarcely dare so much as pray against him in their Devotions, otherwise than in their hearts, which I ween they do duly: were it not I say, that their private ambitions, fears and miscasts did drive them to make so abject and unchristian a choice, rather than zealously and violently to join and pursue one certain course for the rooting of him and his Tyranny, out of this part of the World: it were not to be so much doubted, but the fear now on this side, would soon turn to the other; seeing that one good blow, to a Body so ill built, and full of distempers, were able to put the whole in danger of ruine and shivering. These Reasons induce me not to think, that the danger from the *Turk* should be so great, as to enforce the Christians to run mainly into an accord. And though it should, yet without other sounder working, by perfect composing of all inward discention, this would be but a civil accord, and only for the time; which the fear once past, would dissolve of it self, and the former contentions revive as fresh as ever. For the bond of common fear is the strongest indeed of all other, but the shortest withall; which nothing during the danger is able to break, and the danger once passed y^e falls in stundet of his own unsoundness. Howbeit if the *Turk* should set foot in *Italy*, and abate the *Popes* strength, by possessing his State,

then would I not doubt much, but that both himself would be content, and all other Princes forward, that some such unity as is before spoken of, might be established. But that is a case as unlikely in short time, as in tract of time not impossible to happen, if some manly stout *Turk* should succeed these womanish.

There remaineth then the **Unity by perswasion** only, which both sides now seem to rest on; each practising and hoping in process of time, to eat out the strength of the other by his industry, in drawing away by perswasion, his followers and adherents. Wherein the Protestants counteth his advantage so much the greater, in that the unity of Verity is it which himself perswaded of, he perswadeth to others. And Truth being so infinite degrees stronger than Untruth, having God to bless it, Heaven and Earth, and all the Creatures of God to witness it, and even Falshood it self (which is alwayes his own cut-throat) by his crossing & contrariety, to yield confession unto it: unless the fault be exceedingly in the handler and pleader, must needs in the end, (maugre the malice of all Enemies and craft of all Inventions,) prevail and have Victory: although the utter abolishment of the Kingdom of **Antichrist**, they refer with the Prophecy, to the appearance of our Saviour in judgement and triumph, now shortly approaching. On the other side, the Papists hope, that their Perswasion being seconded by so great Princes authority, insinuated and far-

thered by so many collateral aids and motives and practises, leaving nothing unassayed which may prejudice, afflict, or annoy their opposites, and providing as they do, a perpetual succession of Instruments, to be employed in each kind, over all parts of Christendom; they shall in the end tire, eat out, and utterly consume the strength and stomach of their unpolitick and divided Adversaries. In the number whereof, though they score up all Religions, especially Christian, that acknowledge not the Pope, and the three-fold plenitude of his supernal, terrestrial, and infernal power; extending to Heaven, in canonising Saints; to the lower parts of the world, in freeing from Purgatory; over the Earth, in being the universal Guide and Pastor of all men: yet are they not affected to all their opposites in like sort, speaking of such as with whom they live, and daily converse. For to omit the Jew, whom they mock with his **Messias**, so long in coming; as also the *Grecians*, whom they pity with their Patriarchs, under the Turkish Slavery; their hatred is to the *Lutheran*, the Author of their calamity; but hatred and fear, both of the *Calvinist* only; whom they account the only growing Enemy, and dangerous to their State. For as for the *Lutheran*, he was long since at his highest; and if he itch an inch forward one way for an Ell, he looseth another, it is only by a kind of boisterous force and violence against the *Calvinist*; as in *Strasbourg* of late. The reason whereof, beside the absurdity of their **Ubiquitate Chimera**

hath

hath perhaps been in part also, for that their opinion took up his Seat in *Germany*, a stiffe people, but an heavy, which cannot hold their own well, but gain little upon other men: whereas the other falling upon a livelier metal, of the *French* especially, who are alwaies stirring and practising upon their neighbours, and more vehement for the while in whatsoever they affect; hath had a very huge increase in latter time, notwithstanding those Massacres which have been used to extinguish them, and is still growing forward in all places where once it taketh; & overtoppeth them now from whose root at first it sprang. This therefore by all means they seek to repress, giving some blind hope to the *Lutheran* of quiet and toleration, so he will join against these, the fretters out of both. But of all places their desires and attempts to recover *England*, have been alwaies & still are the strongest: which although in their more sober moods sundry of them will acknowledge, to have been the only Nation that took the right way of justifical Reformation, in comparison of other who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation (so they conceive it) whereas that alteration which hath been in *England*, was brought in with peaceable & orderly proceeding, by general consent of the Prince & whole Realm representatively assembled in solemn Parliament, a great part of their own Clergy according and conforming themselves unto; no *Luther*, no *Calvin* the square of their Faith; what publick discus-

ling and long deliberation did perswade them to be faulty ; that taken away, the succession of Bishops and vocation of Ministers continued ; the dignity and state of the Clergy preserved ; the honour and solemnity of the Service of God not abated ; the more ancient usages of the Church not cancelled ; in sum, no humour of affecting contrariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of conformity with the Church of *Rome*, in whatsoever they thought not gainsaying to the express Law of God, which is the only approvable way, in regard of the power and renown of the Prince, and of their exemplary Policy in government of the State, in regard that they concurring entirely with neither side, yet revered with both, are the fitter and abler to work Unity between them, and to be an Umpire also, Director and Swayer of all, whensoever there should be occasion of assembling their Councils, or of conjoining their forces for their common defence ; and especially, for that it is the only Nation of the Protestant party, able to encounter and affront their King. Catholicks proceedings for the rooting out of Heresie, as their actions both by Sea and Land have manifested of all places in the world they desire most to recover it, making full account that the rest would then soon follow, and apply to them of their own accord one after another. But to as high a tide as they are risen in their desires thereof, to as low an ebb are they fallen in their hopes, being less now for ought I perceive

perceive than ever, having seen her Majesty so often and almost miraculously preserved, their treasons discovered, their excommunications vanished, their Armies defeated, their cartals and books answered, their chief Champions discouraged, wasted, deceased, those that remain, though many, yet few of ability; insomuch but for some small remnant of hope of alteration, which time and trouble, as they imagine, may yet bring, their Founders were likely to withdraw from them ere long their stipends, which get them but a vain name of fruitless liberality. And this is all I can say for any hope or means of this general Unity, and so must I leave and recommend it to God: as being both our best and now remaining only policy, to address our united and general supplications to his divine power and Majesty, that it may please him by that ever springing fountain of his goodness and gracious mercy, even beyond all humane hope, if it may so stand with his blessed will: and by such means as to his divine wisdom are ever in readiness to effect those things which to mans wit may seem impossible, to extend his compassionate and helping hand over his miserable, defiled, disgraced Church; persecuted abroad, and persecuting it self at home; confined by Tyrants into a corner of the world, & therein raging and renting it self in fitters, to purge out of mens minds that ambition & vanity, which so bewitcheth them with the love of the pomps & glories of this perishing and ending world, which

in the breathing of a breath they will loath and despise as nothing; and to ingraft in them a pure and single eye, to behold that eternal truth, which seen, breeds love, and loved, conduces to happiness; to root out all gall and acerbity on both sides, and to bend their hearts to Charity; that being re-united in the pilgrimage of this life, this countrey of our terrestrial bodies; we may after our service and course therein accomplished, ascend under the conduct of our Saviour before ascended, to our everlasting rest in the Countrey of our celestial souls; there in Society and unity of Saints and Angels, to enjoy the happy Vision of the all-Glorious Deity, and to sing his praise for ever.

Upon what ground the Pope suffereth Jews and Gre-
cians in Italy.

I should here make an end concerning the Church of Rome, but that a question incident to the matter which was last spoken of, being moved by many, and diversly answered, doth summon me to deliver up my conjecture also: and that is **upon what ground of Equity or Policy, the Pope should suffer both the Jews and Gre-**
cians to have publick exercise of their Religion in Italy, yea in Rome it self under his Holiness Nose: and only the poor Protestant must be excluded or besieged; yea persecuted and chased if it be possible, out of the world, no view of his Religion to other, no exercise of it to himself permitted

ted. For as for the *Grecians*, they have a Church at *Venice*, with an Archbishop of *Philadelphia*; a Bishop of *Cerigo*, and sundry other inferior Priests to govern it: and the *Italians* also do often repair to their Mass. They have their Mass also in *Greek*, with leavened bread and other schismatical Ceremonies at *Rome* it self; and in *Naples* they say their Priests retain their Wives still, by permission from the Pope; in regard that in those places they acknowledge in some sort the Popes pre-eminency and power: which at *Venice* they do not; but a meer primacy of order, which the ancient Councils have thought good to give him. No more do the *Grecians* in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, about *Otranto* and at *Cassana*, nor in *Corsu* and other Hands adjoining to that Coast, being the old remains of the Occidental *Grecians*, and who have alwaies, and do still follow the *Greek Church* in all things: though those in *Calabria* & *Apulia* be subjects to the King of *Spain*, and in his power to root out whensoever himself listeth. And yet even in *Italy* it self doth he suffer them and their Religion; who never could be induced to tolerate the Protestant in any the remotest corner of his huge scattered Monarchy: though the *Grecians* are condemned Hereticks even in matter of the Trinity, and perpetual opugniers of the Papal right and authority. Then for the *Jews*, they ever swarm in most of the chief parts of *Italy*, at *Rome* especially; where the least number I could ever yet hear them esteemed at, is

ten thousand and upward, though other say twice as many. They have their fair or at leastwise fine Synagogues both there and elsewhere; their circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publick, and all that list may resort unto them.

Yea in means of enriching themselves they are so much favored, that in all places they are permitted to strain up their Usury to eighteen in the hundred upon the Christian (for among themselves they no where use it) whereas half that sum in a Christian is not tolerated: which causeth many greedy and Conscienceless Christians to use these Jews for their Brokers under hand in improving their unlawful Rents to the utmost proportion.

They have also in some places, and it may be in all, a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any controversy between Christians and them, and particular direction to favour them in their trades. And lastly, whereas *France* hath banished that Race; In *Avignon* only, the Popes City, they are harboured and retained. Some answer to this demand in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no authority to chastise the Jews, who never were within the Church, but are as enemies in even terms: whereas the Protestants are either unnatural and rebellious Children, who have flung out of the Church, or the issue of such; against whom her authority is endless and unrestrained, to take all courses possible to reclaim them for ever. This answer seems faulty; both as short of the question, seeing it extendeth not to the *Grecians*, who are in the

the very same roll of Hereticks and Schismatics, flingers out of the Church: and for that there is difference between exercising jurisdiction in punishing an enemy, and not harbouring and cherishing him, with his unlawful and scandalous Religion perpetually in our very bosoms; as is done in *Italy*, who have called the *Jews* in thither, yea and still do entice them, whom, *France* and *England* and *Spain* have banished from them long since.

Others leaving these quirks of justice, hold by the texts of Charity that it is a Christian act to harbour a harmless enemy, and especially that it is of all other most befitting the Church, who hath hereby also better means to reduce them to the Faith; and so in fine to save their souls, which is the sum of her endeavors. And in fortifying this answer there is to be alledged for the first point, that the *Jews* have their Service in *Hebrew*, and the *Greeks* in *Greek*, which *Italy* understandeth not; yea, and that they have purged the *Hebrew* Liturgy from all points wherein they did impugn or scandalize Christianity: and for the second point, that the *Jews* are bound to repair at some times to the Christian Sermons, by which means some few of them have been converted, and more may be when God shall please so. But neither seems this answer so perfect as were requisite. For the *Jews* make their Sermons or Expositions of the Law in the *Italian* language; though the texts of Scripture they cite in the original; and although they have purged their Liturgies as they say: yet leaving them Circumci-

on,

on, they tolerate that which is now intolerable. And as for their gaining of any souls among them, if they gained not more Crowns, that reason would not stand. For if any credit may be given to the ~~pe-
brews~~ themselves, as many Friars become *Jews*, as *Jews* become Friars; of both sorts some: but few of either. But of the good provision they have taken to convert them, & of the fruits thereof I shall speak hereafter. In the mean time this I ask; would they suffer the *English* Protestants to have an *English* Church there, none understanding their Language neither in Service nor Sermons; yea and purging their Liturgy of whatsoever may seem to impugn or deface their Religion, if there be any thing in it of that offensive quality? as for my part I know nothing, but think rather with great judgment it was purposely so framed out of the grounds of Religion, wherein both sides do agree that their very Catholicks might resort to it without scruple or scandal, if faction more than reason did not sway. Then for repairing to their Sermons, they know by experience they will not be backward; especially having the opinion of great Divines (as some say) that it is not unlawful. And lastly, what reason why they should not be as hopeful to gain *English* mens souls, as *Jews*? yes their hopes is greater; else would they not be at such cost upon the one abroad, & bestow so little labour upon the other at home. To this question they would answer first that there were more danger of flocking away their people, if they should have

have but a bare view of our Reform'd Churches, as being more infectious; & therefore no policie, and secondly, to what purpose the making of any such motion; what need unto us, and to them what profit? This Answer deduced from Policie and Profit, I take to be the right Answer also, to the first principal Question; and neither of the former, drawn from Justice or Charity. For there is no cause of any fear at all, either of the oppressed *Grecian*, or of the obstinate *Jew*, bearing a mark of Ignominy and Reproach in all places. Yea, they remain rather as Examples and Spectacles among them of contempt and misery, the one for his ungratefull refusal of Christ himself; the other for his Sedition against Christs Vicar, as they inferre against him. Whereas to give the Protestants any foot among them, were the next way to leave themselves no foot to stand on.

On the other side by extending pity towards the afflicted and dismayed *Grecian*, whom the hand of God hath laid as low as the very dust we tread on, they sow some hope of ranging himself again under their subjection: which were to them a reputation and strength inestimable, and such as cunningly by false bruits, they cause the world daily to feed on.

Then for the *Jew*, the profit by him is exceeding great and greater in proportion of number than by the very Curtizans; and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes of *Italy*; to whom they pay a yearly Rent for the very Heads they wear, besides other

other means to rack & wreck them in their purses at pleasure. Which gain, as it is a piece of the cause why the beastly trade of the one, so is it the entire reason why the trade of the other is permitted: they being used as the Friars to suck from the meaner, and to be sucked by the greater: in so much that the Pope, besides their certain tribute, doth sometimes as is said impose on them a subsidy of ten thousand Crowns extraordinary, for some Service of State.

Of the Jews Religion and Usage.

Now to consider a little what probability of their conversion in those parts, and by the way to touch somewhat of **their Religion and Usage.** Thus stands their case. They have a Religion, though somewhat strange to our conceits, as being framed not only out of the Law of the old Bible, but also out of sundry the stranger opinions of the ancienter Philosophers, together with certain capricious fancies and fables of the Rabbins; yet so handsomely pieced and glew'd together, that one part seems to hang to the other not absurdly. And that which they hold they are so perfect in, that they will give both a profitable accompt thereof out of a certain moral Philosophy & reason, wherein they are well seen: as also make some shew for it out of the Bible itself: wherein they are the skilfullest men I believe in the world: and needs must be so, setting their children to the Hebrew Language at three years

years old, and following no other study save of the Bible; and writing upon it all their life long, except certain few that betake themselves to Physick. Touching God and his Nature, their opinions are for the most very honourable and holy, save that they deny the Trinity touching Angels, but weak, and soiled with much Poetry; touching the nature and condition of Man, very exquisite, and for the most part drawing near unto truth. But for the three States of the Soul of Man, they run some more strange courses; holding the creation of them altogether before the Bodies, with sundry of the ancient both Divines and Philosophers, the *μετεμψυχως* of Pythagoras, (though not to different species;) and Platoes Purgatory. Of Vertue and Vice, and mans course, in both they think not much amiss; save that to the expiation of sin, they hold nothing necessary, but the repentance of the sinner, and the mercy of the forgiver, which in that case is alwayes ready. For Reward, it commeth wholly from the bounty of God, without desert: yet different in degree, according to the works of each man. That the general Law of all men, is the Law of Nature only; which who so keeps, it shall lead him to bliss in what Religion soever; though the Hebrew, unto whom *Moses* Law was peculiarly given by observing it shall have a greater prerogative of glory. They prefer the Civil Life before the Solitary, and Marriage before Virginity; as being to Nature more agreeable, to Mankind more

more profitable, and consequently to God more acceptable. Their belief of the end of the world, and of the final Judgement, of the restoring of mens bodies, and of their happiness everlasting in the heighth of the Heavens; is good in the general. But as they think it a bad opinion, which some of great name have seemed to hold, that God in his everlasting and absolute pleasure, should affect the extream misery of any of his Creatures, for the shewing of his justice and severity in tormenting them; or that the calamity, casting away and damnation of some, should absolutely and necessarily redound more to his glory, than the felicity of them all; considering that his nature is meer goodness and happiness, and hath no affinity with rigor or misery: so contrariwise, they think with *Origen*, that Hell in the end shall be utterly abolished, and that the Devils themselves, after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment, shall find mercy at his hands that did create them; that the world may entirely be restored to that purity, wherein God at first did make it; and to that perfection and happiness, whereto each part of it in his several degree, was destinied by him, from whom nothing but goodness and blisfulness could proceed. Their Liturgy in the kind of it, is not different from ours; consisting of Psalms and Prayers, with sundry shorter Hymns and Responds; of Lessons one out of the Law, and read by some chief person; another out of the Prophets, correspondent

to the former in argument, but read by some Boy or meaner Companion.

For they in no sort allow that degree of Honour, neither attribute they that Authority to any other part of the Bible, that they do to the Law: which they carry about their Synagogue at the end of Service in procession, with many rich Ornaments of Crowns and Scepters, the Children kissing it as it passeth by them; and sometimes make proclamation, who will give most to their Treasure, to have the honour for that time, for taking out the Law. But for the manner of performing their Service, and their behaviour thereat, it is different from all other that ever I saw. They chaunt it in a strong wide hallowing Tune; with imitation sometimes of Trumpets, one echoing to the other, and winding up by degrees from a soft or silent whispering, to the highest and lowdest note that their voices will bear; with continual great wagging of their Bodies and exultation, as it were in some savage or raging solemnity; sometimes all springing up lightly from the ground, and with as much variety, as wild work will receive. They wear certain Ornaments of embroidered Linnen, cast Mantle-wise about their shoulders, which are their Phylasters, edged with knotted Fringe, according to the number of the Commandements, and serving as Local memories of the Law. The Reverence they shew, is in standing up at times, and their Gesture of Adoration, is bowing forward of their Bodies, for Kneeling, they

they use none, no more than the *Grecians*, neither stir they their Bonnets in their Synagogue to any man, but remain still covered. They come to it with washed hands; and in it, they burn Lamps to the honour of God. But for any shew of Devotion, or elevation in Spirit, that yet in a Jew could I never discern: but they are as reverent in their Synagogue, as Grammar-Boys in their Schools, when their Master is absent: in sum, their Holiness is the very outward work it self, being a Brainless Head, and a Soulless Body: For Circumcision, they use it to the Dead, as well as to the Living: yet no way think it necessary for the Infants salvation. They are a subtile and advantagious people, and wonderfully eager of Gain: in so much, that who so deals with them, needs let his Wit go with his Belief, or else his findings shall come short of his expectings. As earnest to make Profelites, as ever their Ancestors: and as obstinate against *Christ*, as the Priests that condemned him. In other points they are perhapps rather to be commended than otherwise. Their care of avoiding Fornication is such, that they marry their Sons at Eighteen lightly. But Adultery, they would punish according to the Law with Death, if they had such liberty. When they break the Law, they come voluntarily as penitents to their Rabby for punishment: yet without any particular disclosing of their fault. They keep their Fasts and solemn Feasts very dully: but as the Christians fast the Night, so they the Noon
 alwaies

alwaies. They are Charitable among themselves, leaving no Poor unrelieved, no Prisoner unransomed; which makes them good prize upon every pretence. And although for their Usury and guileful Dealing, they are generally hated there, and handled as very Dogs: yet some of them I have known, men of singular vertue and integrity of mind, seeming to want no grace, but the faith of a Christian. Each Synagogue hath his Rabbi, to expound their Law; to instruct their Children; to decide their differences.

For their *Messias*, they say now, seeing he staves so long, he shall be a fore-runner of the End of the World: and shall gather by his power all Nations into one fold, and so resign them up into the hands of that eternal Pastour. But it seemeth they expect him out of the East, whither the *spanish Jews* fled, and have exceedingly multiplied. For those do they hold to be of the Tribe of *Juda*; and these other in *Germany* and *Italy*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*; who in the honour of the more noble Tribe, and to correspond with them the better, do learn the *spanish* Tongue, which those still retain.

Of their Conversion in Italy.

But now to come to the Point which I principally intended, which is, what probability of their *Conversion in Italy*; three great impediments, besides their natural and inrooted obstina-

cie, I suppose there are which hinder it: the scandals of the Christians; the want of means to instruct them, and the punishment, or loss which by their conversion they incur. A scandal it is, to see Mans Law directly preferred before Gods: to see so great a matter made of eating Flesh on a Friday, and that Adultery should pass for so ordinary a Pastime. A scandal are those Blasphemies, darted up with hellish mouths against God and our Saviour, so ordinarily and openly, that some of them are become very Interjections of speech to the vulgar, and other some meer phrases of Gallantry to the braver. A Scandal is that forging and packing in Miracles: wherein the Friars and Jews concur in equal diligence: the one in contriving, the other in discovering them. And surely, this is an exceeding great Scandal unto them; seeing Truth is of so pure and victorious a nature, that it refuseth to be in league with any falshood in the world, much more disdaineth to be assisted by it: neither can there be a greater wrong done to a true conclusion, than to endeavour to prove it, by an untrue Allegation. A Scandal are the Alterations, which they are forced by the Inquisitours, to make in their Authors and Monuments of Antiquity: thinking that these Devices, are our best Evidences. But of all those Alterations, they keep a note for after-time. A Scandal is the vowing, and praying to Angels and Saints: which they hold to be duty peculiar unto God only, and so hath it been esteemed

seemed among them in all ages. Yea, and they
 more, that the Christians pray more oft, and more
 willingly to Christs Mother, than unto Christ
 himself; or unto God: But the greatest Scandal
 of all other, is their worshipping of Images; for
 which, both *Jews* and *Turks*, call them the Ido-
 latrous Christians. Now this is so much the great-
 er, and of more indignity, for that they generally
 conceive it to be a thing which Christ himself ex-
 pressly commanded; and that in the Gospel of
 Christ, written by the Evangelists themselves, the
 Decalogue should be recited, with omission of
 the second Precept; as one of their greatest Rab-
 bins contested with me, being induced into that
 Error, by some Chatechisms of the Christians,
 which he had seen with that fault. Now when
 they come to Conference with the Priests and
 Friars, (as sometimes they do,) and upbraid this,
 as a peremptory Exception against Christ, those
 good men deny it not, for fear of scandalizing
 their own, but letting it pass for current, that
 Christ, whom the Jews call a Carpenter, was also
 an Image-maker, or howsoever an Author of the
 worshipping of them; seek to salve up the Gash,
 which they have made in the plain words of that
 Law, which was written by the Finger of God,
 with their speculative Plasters of distinguishing
 between the Images of the true God, and the
 Idols of false Gods; of *Αἰκόνες* and *ἑκστάσεις*; of in-
 tention instrumental and final in worship.

All which are the unfavourable drings to the Jew

in the world: who saith there was never Nation yet so blockish under the Sun, as to worship a Stock and Stone as a final object, but only as a representation of some absent Divinity: and that the Heathen themselves, call them every where, the **Effigies** and **Simulachra** of other; yet such Effigies, as that the Divine Power by his Virtue, did sometime inhabit, and work Miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her Images, in infinite places of Christendom: whereby, if the poor Idiot were deceived among the Pagans, to think sometimes, that very Image, some divine matter or person: as clear is it, that the like befalls infinite simple Christians, seeing their Images, either to grow, or to weep and bleed, as they do often, and so infinite Cures wrought, by viewing or touching them. And for their degrees of worship, between Gods Images and the Saints, they cannot perceive them, they kneel to them alike; they pray to them alike; they vow to them alike; they Incense them alike; they burn Candles to them alike; Cloath them alike; they offer Gifts to them alike; the difference, if it be any, is in their mental affections: which, whether the blunt, and undistinguishing Wits of the Vulgar do observe, they suppose a small measure of discretion may conjecture. In like sort for their distinction between the Images of the true God, and of false Gods; they tell them, that in other cases, that might have this use, but none in this Law; it being expounded in other places, as prohibiting this
base

base sensual and seducing kind of worshipping even God himself by an Image, if any Image of God were possible to be made: that thus the Law it self, doth plainly deliver; thus they which received the Law, understood it; thus all their holy Ancestors, and learned Doctors have still interpreted; and thus hath their Nation in all ages believed. And therefore they say, for their coming to the Christian Sermons, that as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his Speech and Prayer to that little wooden Crucifix, which stands on the Pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneel down to it, to embrace and kiss it, to weep upon it; (as is the fashion of *Italy*.) this is preaching sufficient for them, and persuades them more with the very sight of it to hate Christian Religion, than any Reason that the world can alledge to love it. And these be the Scandals, which as I have heard themselves alledge, they take on that side; besides their **Transubstantiation**, which they can at no hand digest. The Particular Scandal from the Protestants, is their mutual dissention, which they hold to proceed from the want of the Unity of Truth in their Foundation: otherwise, save for their general Exceptions against Christianity, they hold their Religion very conformable to the Law of Nature, which they account the principal. But were all the unneedful Scandals in those parts removed, yet is there no good means there of the Jews conversion. They complain first, that the

New Testament, being the ground of our Religion; they cannot see it. That *Italian* Translation which they had, is called in, and taken from them. It is printed in Hebrew Letters, but not in Hebrew Language, at leastwise, not such as they can understand. With Greek and Latine, their Nation never medled. Besides, which the Inquisitours have inhibited and taken from them all Books that were published in that Theme on either side, as well those that have been written in defence of Christian Religion, as the contrary against it; alledging, they will have no disputing in matter of Religion, either way: much like to an Edict set up at **Dola** in the **franch County**, where the Jesuites reside, forbidding any talk of God, either in good sort or bad. Then lastly, for those few Sermons they are bound to repair to, seldom where I have been, are they directed to the Jews, or to the Points they stick on, but hold on their usual Tenour, as respecting more the Christians. The last encouragement to men, especially of their mettall, is that at their conversion to Christianity, they must part with their Goods to the Christians. And the reason is, for that in Baptism, they renounce the Devil and all his works; part whereof, are the Jews goods, being gotten either by themselves, or by their Ancestors, with Usury. Now this is such a cold comfort to a man set on the world, as that Nation is wonderfully; that for my part, I have not heard of any converted in those parts, save some few Physitians,

with

with some of their Children; who by friendship from the Pope, have obtained Dispensation to retain their Goods still, in as much as they were gotten by their honourable profession. But if on the contrary side, the Christians would again in their Charity, give somewhat for the competent entertainment of such, as for Gods sake, did give up their own; I could not but well commend that rigor of Justice, which the bountifulness of this mercy did mitigate and assweeten. But being no such matter, there remains nothing for a Jew converted, but to be Friered; a Trade, which of all other, they least can fancy, as being contrary, as they alledge, to nature it self, which hath made man sociable, and each helpful unto other, in all civil Duties; a Trade never commanded, or commended by God; never practised, or counselled by their renowned Ancestors, who received continual Instruction and Inspiration from above, which none of their Patriarchs or Prophets have given Example of; only in three or four thousand years, *Elias* and some one other have been found upon very extraordinary cause, to have taken also an extraordinary course of life; though of other nature, and to other purpose, than the Votaries of our times. And these are the terms that the Jews stand in, in those parts; and so must I leave them to the merciful cure of God; an unblest and forsaken People; obstinate within, and scandalized without, indefatigable in their expectation, untractable in perswasion, worldly, yet

yet wretched ; received of their enemies, but despised and hated ; scattered over all Countries, but no where planted ; daily multiplying in number, but to the encrease of their servitude, and not of their power ; in sum, a long continued and marked example of Gods just severity ; to abate their pride that glory even as they, in their Ancestors and Founders, Gods Temple and Oracles, many promises and prerogatives, long continuance in honourable estate and glory (which things were they sufficient to preserve any See in the world, even their seat had been preserv'd by them) and to proclaim to the whole world that there is no assurance of the favour, protection, and assistance of God (without which all falls to ruine) but by believing in his Son, and in keeping his Commandments. And this also may seem touching the Church of *Rome* sufficient.

Of the Greek Church and their Religion.

Next followeth the **Greek Church**, enthralled all in a manner save the *Muscovites* and the *Candians*, with some few other of no great name and number, under the *Turkish* Tyranny. Of which Church, as their far distance from us requireth not to speak much, so their Uniformity in misery yieldeth not much to be spoken. For their Religion, except only their ancient error touching the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, wherein they have long dissented from all the Latine or West Church ; in other points they seem

seem to stand in some middle terms of opinion between the Romanists and Protestants, yet so that in the more, they approach to the Church of *Rome*, and to the Protestants in the more weighty, or at leastwise more dominative. With *Rome* they concur in the opinion of Transubstantiation, and generally in the Sacrifice and whole body of the Mass, in praying to Saints, in auricular confession, in offering of sacrifice and prayer for the dead; and in these without any or no material difference. They hold Purgatory also, and the worshipping of Pictures. But for Images, they will not so much as endure them in their Churches; as well for that proclivity they have to train away the ignorant into a crime of Pagan Errour; as also to avoid that similitude between their Churches and the Heathenish Temples of Idols, which Imagery doth cause. And for their Pictures, they kneel to two only, of Christ, and our Lady; the rest they pass over with an ordinary reverence. For Purgatory, they hold none in Hell or in the skirts thereof, or by any outward torment, but that the souls of the faithful are not received into glory, till by an extream compunction and anguish of mind they have worn out those stains, with which sin and the pleasures thereof in this life defile them. In sum, those opinions which grew into the Church before the Separations between the Greeks and the Latines, and all those Ceremonies which were common unto both, they still retain; as their crossings, and tapers, with

with certain other. But for those Superstitions which have crept in, in fresher memory, or which were, if as ancient, yet not so current, and in general all those Canons of the Romish Faith which have been thrust on them in these latter times, by the unaccomprable power and pride of the Papacy tending to the advancement of their own See, and to the exempting of their Church and Doctrine from trial; by those Anabaptistical Fancies of the Spirit that moves them, and protects them from Error in their consultations and resolutions touching matter of Faith, extenuating the sufficiency and authority of the Scripture in comparison of their Spirit or Church guided by it; all these things they abhor no less than the Protestant. They hold understanding requisite to concur with affection for the accomplishment of devotion in praying to God: and although their Liturgies are the same that were in old time, namely Saint *Basil's*, Saint *Chrysostomes*, and Saint *Gregories* translated, without any bending of them to that change of Language which their Tongue hath also suffered: yet do they say that alteration is not so great but that their people with small accustoming, understand the Liturgies well enough. But for praying by tale with Saint *Dominick's* round Compters, they esteem of it no better than those Heathenish repetitions and unnatural labours which our Saviour censured. Neither can they believe that the Apostle Saint *James* the lesser, who is painted under the Papacy with his

great

great Beads at his Girdle (even as *Mary Magdalen* lightly praying before a Crucifix) was Saint *Dominicks* Disciple: but a wiser man far, and one that introduced a better fashion of praying, if the world could have been content to have followed his Prescript. In like sort for the Holy-water so much used under the Papacy: they believe no such fear that the Devil should have of it, nor such force in it to purge sin, as their Neighbours do teach. They repute it a very vain opinion that the Church cannot err, both in the whole and every part thereof, and consequently that their Neighbours of *Rome* had bestowed their pains better, which they have spent in proving and perswading that they cannot err, in providing and caring more not to have erred. They acknowledge that there is sufficient Doctrine in Scripture for Salvation; though to the ancient usages of the Church, and writings of ancient Fathers, they yield due reverence. Three things in the Pope they condemn especially: his Pride, his Cruelty, and his Presumption, most of all: his Pride, in arrogating to exorbitant a jurisdiction over all the Church, contrary to the Decrees of ancient Councils, and upon shadow of right or good foundation; but chiefly in usurping that temporal tyranny over Princes and their States, in disposing of the one, and disposing of the other, at his absolute pleasure; his cruelty in persecuting other Christians with such extremity for their different opinions: his presumption, in mounting up
 into

into the Seat of God, by dispensing with the Laws of God, and granting Pardons for Sin, and **Liberaties** out of Purgatory; which they account to be of those Royal Prerogatives incident to God only. For as for the Doctrinal foundation of those **Indulgences, overplus of merits and satisfaction in some**, being more than they needed, or than were to be required with any joyes of Heaven in their particular persons, and consequently remain as a perpetual treasure to the Church, to be conferred by the Pope on his weaker and less deserving, or rather less satisfying Children (for so is their opinion) so far are they from prizing merits at such an inestimable value, that contrariwise they concur in assertion with the Protestants, that it is impossible for any creature to merit as by way of right the least dram of reward at his Creators hands; the service of ten thousand millions of Worlds, being not able to add any shadow of perfection to him, who is **Perfection it self**, having whatsoever is good or desirable within himself, even from all eternity, in infinite of degree, and with impossibility of any the least addition. But whatsoever reward is bestowed on the Creature, floweth forth from the meer bounty and graciousness of the Creator, who, as in goodness alone and meer grace did make him, so in goodness and meer grace also doth advance him unto that higher happiness.

That Service intermedial which he requires at his

his hand, is a gracious disposition of sweetest harmony from the unexplicable wisdom of a Lord and Father, still abounding and still enlarging his hands, in all bounty and goodness towards his Sons and Servants; and destined to no other than to the Creatures behoof, to his benefit and advancement only; that by his requisite endeavors in those honourable wayes of wisdom and virtue, of love and thankfulness, and of imitating his Maker, in doing good in the world; he may grow, being assisted with divine grace and virtue, to an higher degree of goodness, still perfecting more and more all the faculties and parts of his imperfect Soul and Nature; whereunto also an higher degree of glory is proposed, and reserved by the great rewarder in the height of the heavens, as a full and final accomplishment of his whole desires, and as the Crown of his celestial blessedness. Now as in this opinion they agree in general with the Protestants, so do they mightily dissent from that Doctrine touching the eternal Counsels of God; which *Calvin*, as some conceive, first fully revealed, or rather introduced into the Christian world; and since some of his friends and followers have seconded; as thinking it very injurious to the goodness of God, and directly and immediately opposite to his very Nature. In regard whereof one of their Bishops hath written a Book against it, which hath been sent to *Geneva*, and there received. Thus much of their Doctrine; which though I know it may be better and fullier had in their

their Books, yet have I not thought it inconvenient to deliver thus in brief, how I have found them also, in Speech and Conference affected.

of their Liturgies.

Their Liturgies for the substance, are those three I have named: all which they use for varieties sake, in the several times and feasts allotted for them. For the Form and Ceremonies, they resemble much the Latines, though of the two, the French Mass, more than the Italian; not only in their holy Bread; but especially in their Altar, which with great mystery, as is said, they both enclose from the people, that the Arcana of those their ineffable crossings and convertings, may not be prostituted and polluted by unsanctified view; whereas the Romans, finding no such virtue in that mystery, lie fair and open on all sides, to all eyes. In their Host they use Heaven, which the Latines avoid: and they elevate it forward, which the Latines do backward: and new the body of the Church; which the other do at the Altar. In their Crossings they are very plentiful: but herein swerving from the Latines, that the Greek (who is more nimble therein) begins his Cross-bar on the right side, and the Latine on the left, each with his several mystery. They have also a mystery in shifting and re-shifting, in one and the same Mass, from one Altar to another; which the Latines have not: who contain

riwise in one Church have a dozen Masses sometimes all going at once to several Altars; which the *Grecians* use not for ought I could see. They have much ado with their lights, in putting them out and in again at several times and parts of their Service. And their Liturgy is intermeddled much with singing; performed in a Tune, neither very artificial, nor altogether neglected; but grave, alternated, and branched with divers parts.

At the Creed, the Priest cometh forth at the door of the Chancel, and holds up a little embroidered picture of Christ on the Cross; towards which they do reverence, and pronounce their belief. Their gestures of reverence are the very same with the *Jews*; standing up and bowing forward their bodies at times. For kneeling, they use none, save only, as they say, one day in the year. At their coming in, they bow themselves thrice toward the Altar, and three times cross themselves. At their departure, having taken their holy-bread, with kissing the Prelates hand from whom they receive it, they finally salute the Pictures of Christ and our Lady, kissing also their hands, which are plated over with metal because of wearing. But the *Grecians* Pictures of Christ and our Lady are nothing like to the *Latines*; but as different as any ordinary two faces that a man shall see. The most uniformity therein that I have seen, is with us in *England*. For in *Italy* there is little, especially of our Lady; whose very Pictures, which they say *S. Luke* himself partly did draw, and partly

partly began, and Angels did finish, may argue perhaps devotion towards her in the Drawers, but small acquaintance; unless her face were very variable, or very slender their skill; somewhere, as at *Loretto*, she is painted like a Black-moor. In sum, they have so little knowledge of her countenance and favour, that in some places they will assemble divers of their fairest Courtezans (as I have heard it reported) to draw the modest beauty of a Virgin out of the flagrancy of Harlots.

Of their Government.

But to return to the *Grecians*, and to come now to their **Government**; which is, as the world knows, that ancient, by Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, with other Officers inferiour: unto whom the people carry exceeding respect and reverence, as it were to the publick Fathers and Heads of their Nation, notwithstanding that calamity wherein the tyranny of the Turk hath plunged them. They have also a Religious Order amongst them, of *S. Basil*, the great Founder of the East Monks, as *S. Benedict* of the West. These only have their vows of Chastity and Austerity, and may not marry; which, to the rest of the Clergy is not prohibited. They have also their proper habit; but shaven they are not, for ought I could discern; no more are their Priests, being a Ceremony so bald, that the very Priests in *France* are ashamed of the Mark, and few of them have

it that can handsomly avoid it. But as in the multitude of their Religions, they differ much from the West Church, the *Grecians* having but this only one Order of *S. Basil*, and the *Latines* having multiplied therein to greater store and variety, than there are Professions in a Commonwealth, or Trades in a City; so also in their use and course of life. For the Roman-Monks, by the withdrawing themselves from the society of other men, and living and dying within their solitary Cloisters, do bereave the world of that benefit of duty and service, wherein each man is bound to the behoof of other; alledging in place thereof the blessings which their assiduity and fervour in prayer, not interrupted nor cured by secular conversements, draw down upon the world, as may be godly believed without further proof; whereas the Greek-Monks seem to continue that ancient and more approved Institution of them by spiritual meditations and exercises, and by severity to make themselves fitter to serve in the Church of God in Ecclesiastical calling with exemplary holiness; and accordingly their Prelates and other principal Priests are chosen in most places out of their Order in greatest part. These Guides of the Church have a wonderful care, continually beset with the acerbity of much fear and grief of heart, lest their persecuted flock, gasping as it were in the helpless and comfortless extremity of all kinds and degrees of misery, having famine of soul and great blindness within; for want of

plaisters and means to maintain them : without seeing nothing but triumphs over Christ, and scorns of his Religion, insolencies and violences against their persons, oppressions and extortions upon their goods, rapines and murderings of the very souls of their children (a case to be bewailed with tears of blood by all Christian hearts that know it) hearing the only Anchor and stay of their Souls, which is their expectation of the coming of Christ, and of future salvation, daily derided and blasphemed by the pride of the mighty ; and finally, seeing no shadow of any hope of delivery from this long calamity, under the burden whereof they groan and are consumed ; should in the end fall away and revolt to Turcisme ; inviting them unto it with all the baits of ease, of wealth, of pleasures, of freedom, prosperity and worldly Glory ; in which fearfulness of mind, the only remedy remaining, is the virtuousness of their own example in constancy and patience, and the avoiding of all scandal to their people. Which is the cause that they will not hear of reforming any thing ; not, I suppose, upon any presumption or obstinacy of mind, as disdaining reformation, but as trembling at alteration which must needs accompany it ; lest their people perceiving so they had been amiss in some things, might suspect the possibility of like error in the whole, and so fall mainly whither the force of power and worldly prosperity, a chief argument to the ignorant and vulgar minds, should sway them. As on the other

other side, their doubt of farther exasperating the *Turk* in his cruelty against them, considering that in *Greece* and all other parts of *Europe*, the *Christians* under the *Turk* do very manifoldly exceed in number the *Mahometans* themselves: may be a cause why in their general they hold so small intelligence and correspondence with the **West-
Church** of one side or other; and are like to continue so, whilst their thralldom and cause of their fear shall last: though in their particular they will declare a brotherly affection to both, and desire of the unity of all in one Truth. But for the *Turk* himself, he maketh full accompt that wheresoever the **West Christians** should stoutly invade him; the **East-Christians** under him would run to their aid, if they saw any likelihood that they should prevail. And this hath been seen already more than once by example; and he provides accordingly.

Of their Lives, and of the Muscovites.

The **Muscovites** are a great Church, a free and puissant; not Schismatics from the *Grecians*, as some in disgrace of both deliver; though perhaps not fully concurring in all points. Neither yet is it true which other of a contrary conceit have rumoured, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* hath removed his Seat to *Mosco*, whither he went only to erect that See into an Archbishoprick, which before it was not, and so returned

But the *Turk* to keep the *Muscovites* from stirring against him, doth cause the *Tartarians* to make often incursions and roads into their Countrey; that so being alwaies in inward awe from another side, they may have less leisure, and withal less stomach, to embrace any outward thoughts or designs of enterprizing or combining with other Christians against him. It were needless now to enter into any view of their *Lives*, neither could it serve any way to the honour or reproach of their Religion or government; being maimed, interrupted and stopped in his operations of what qualities soever, though his tyranny who striveth by all means to plant barbarousness amongst them; as knowing that neither Civility did found his Empire, nor with Civility could it long continue. But the case is general, and experience sheweth it in all places, that although a sweet mind and pure conversation be the natural fruits of a sound belief and perswasion; yet the afflicted in all Religions grounded upon truth, how contrary soever otherwise, are in their far greatest part men of conscience and honesty, save only where hopes draw other humours to them. For it cannot proceed from less than a virtuous affection to prefer the sincerity of Conscience before worldly glory; howsoever it may be stained with other erroneous Opinions. As on the contrary side even the purest Religion in prosperity, draweth to it an infinite of good companions and time-servers, who being trained up in the exactness of Kitchen and Cup-
Discipline,

the best chear is stirring; and follow Christ upon a sharp devotion, but to his Bread, not to his Doctrine. In which regard the fruits of Life in divers Religions and Governments, are not to be compared, but where their prosperity or adversity are equal. And even so doth it fall out in this particular we now speak of; where the *Grecian*, who is counted by the corruption of his Countrey to be naturally a false and crafty Merchant, a seditious and stirring person in all kinds of government; is now become humble, obedient, grave, and peaceable, and surely at divine Service giveth more shew of devotion than the *Romanists* in any place, for ought I have yet seen. But the lamentable calamity of this afflicted and distressed Church, once flourishing in all worldly prosperity and glory, now such as it hath pleased the rage of the wild Boar to leave it, able to melt and dissolve even a marble heart into streames of mournful tears, doth cause me in due sense of compassion of their misery to press with the humble petition of a mind pierced with grief to the just Judge of the world, the Redeemer of mankind, and the Saviour of his erring people; to cast down his gracious and pitiful eyes upon them, to behold on the one side his triumphant fierce enemy persecuting without end or measure, on the other side, his poor servants trodden down and persecuted, without help, or hope or comfort; to break and dissolve the pride and power of the one, and to

fort the astonish'd and wasting weakness of the other with some hope of succour and final delivery, to inspire the hearts of Christian Princes their Neighbours, compounding or laying aside their endless and fruitless contentions, to revenge their quarrel against the unjust oppressor; to deliver now at length the Church of that bane, the world of that ignominy, mankind of that monster of Turkish tyranny, which hath too long ravaged and laid desolate the earth. A small thing were it, if his revenue and treasure were only supplied and maintained out of their goods and labours, or if their bodies and lives were only wasted and worn out in his works and slaveries, it might be suffered. For goods are transitory, and death is the end of all worldly miseries: But to be forced to pay a tribute also of souls to his *Mahomet*, to have their forwardest and dearest children snatcht out of their bosoms, to be brought up in his implous and bestial abominations, and to be employ'd in the murdering of them that begat them; and in the rooting out of that Faith wherein they were born and baptized, and which only were able to bring their souls to happiness: this surely is an anguish and calamity insupportable, and which crieth unto God in the heavens for release. How long shall the hateful name of the cursed Seducer upbraid the glorious and lovely name of our Saviour? How long shall his falshood insult over our Faith? How long shall his Barbarism oppress civility, and his tyranny affront the true honour of all

all lawful government? But how long soever; this stands most sure for ever, that the judgements of God are just, and directed even in his sharpest and most rigorous chastisements to the benefit of the world, and instruction of men; and sound to us besides other things, this admonishment allowd, that if in those people among which our Saviour himself conversed at what time his beautiful steps honoured the world, if in those Churches which his Apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited: so tenderly cherished; instructed and confirmed by so many peculiar Epistles and for whom they sent up so many fervent prayers, yea, unto whom are remaining those particular letters which the spirit of the highest endited in the very Heavens, and sent down unto them for a fore-warning and preventing of that plague which is since through their great neglect befallen them, if besides these spiritual prerogatives and graces, the puissance and glory of the great Empire of the world, the Christian Empire of *Rome*, being translated unto them, and seated in their laps, with promise of perpetuity to their present prosperity, such then was the strength thereof: notwithstanding when they fell away from the first Zeal and Charity; when knowledge the right mother of Humility, made them swell, when they envyed each others graces, which they ought to have loved; when abundance of all things bred wantonness instead of thankfulness; in fine, when they forgot the author of all their bliss, and fell one to
suarling

snarling and biting at another, instead of putting up and forgiving offences, if not for the reconciling name of brother-hood, yet for his sake who was Father and equal Lord of both: it pleased God to suffer that a base thief and a wicked, with a train of desperate and forsaken vagabonds, to the eternal reproach of all their wisdom and policy should advance himself so by his industry, and their security, and grow to such an heighth in his successours and followers, as to be a terrour and amazement to all the world, to themselves in inexplicable and unsuccourable calamity to strip them of all those graces, and blessings, which ingratitude would not acknowledge, pride and wantonness did abuse; and to heap on them as much misery, as the fury of a barbarous and merciless tyrant can inflict upon such as have no means to appeale him save their calamity alone, nor to withstand him besides their patience; then surely we, who come short of them so far in pledges of favour, and equal them in our fault; and they who have had in particular the like threatening caveats of cutting off and not sparing, notwithstanding all the virtues of their honourable Ancestors; may think it high time to enter into a more serious cogitation of our ways; to turn all our policies and contentions against others, into an humble and sincere examination of our selves; that repentance and amendment may prevent those punishments which wickedness hath deserved, and obstinacy now highly doth provoke,

of the Churches Reformed.

It remains that I should proceed to the **Churches Reformed**: of which there are many things also to be said: But the fear of having over-wearied your Grace with my length in the former, drawn on by multitude and variety of matter, still freshly presenting it self, contrary to my opinion and first intention, doth cause me to defer the rest till some other occasion. In the meanwhile I presume to offer this to your Graces good acceptance, as a testimony of that duty and thankfulness which I bear and owe; so do I gladly also submit it to be censured and controlled by your Graces judgment and wisdom. For however, I have waded herein with that uprightness of mind, I trust, which becometh a lover and searcher of truth; and have also to my best avoided that rashness and lightness in belief, to which they that are subject, swallow down much, which fills them with wind instead of nourishment; yet viewing on the other side in such a multitude at this day, who perhaps with like integrity, equal wariness, more diligence, and manifoldly more means of certain information, have delivered either histories or other particular relations, how few have not stumbled upon many an error, where they thought was nothing but plain ground and truth. I cannot have that affiance or presumption of my good fortune, as to hope to be the man alone that should

should hit truth in all things: But rather as fore-
 seeing almost an impossibility of not often erring
 in matter of this large and scattered quality, de-
 pending also so much upon conjectures & reports;
 do willingly subject whatsoever I have said, to be
 gain said by the better information of any other;
 and shall be alwaies ready to make honourable at-
 tempts to Truth, by recalling and defacing what-
 soever may seem in any wise repugnant to it: as
 professing the truth only, which I have sincerely
 and unpartially endeavoured to deliver, to be the
 fruit of my desire; and the errors which I have
 incurred, to be the weeds of my ignorance. So
 I take, with all duty, most humble leave of your
 Grace.

From Paris, April 9, 1609.

Copied out by the Authors Original, and finished.

John 2. An. MDCXIII.

FINIS.

